

SENATOR LEWIS ON PARLIAMENT'S NEW PROBLEM

THE CANADIAN FORUM

A Monthly Journal of Literature and Public Affairs



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Published at 152 St. George St. Toronto

MAY - 1926
Vol. VI. No. 68

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Published monthly at 153 St. George Street, Toronto. British Agents, Imperial News Company, Limited, Breams Buildings, London, E.C.4; American Agents, Hotaling's News Agency, 398 West 40th Street, New York City. Copyright, October, 1926.

VOL VI.

TORONTO, MAY, 1926.

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CANADA'S IMPERIAL RELATIONS

A MOST interesting, if restricted, debate took place in the House of Commons last month just too late for comment in our April issue. Mr. Woodsworth moved, 'That, in the opinion of this house, Canada should refuse to accept any responsibility for complications arising from the foreign policy of the United Kingdom', and so brought about what may prove to be the only discussion of Canada's Imperial relations to be heard this year, since the Government is not now expected to bring up the question and the session may be a short one. But in view of the impending Imperial Conference, and the present vagueness of Imperial relationships, we hope the Government may yet be persuaded to facilitate the general debate urged by such widely differing members as M. Bourassa, Sir George Perley, and Mr. Woodsworth. There is no more important question facing the Commonwealth to-day; a comprehensive discussion in Parliament and a statement of Government policy might promote further discussions in the Parliaments of the other Dominions and evoke valuable suggestions for the improvement of the present system; and the representatives of the various British nations would then meet next autumn with some prospect of an advance being made. On the other hand, if the present policy of drift is continued, the conference will be as ineffective as the last one.

THE root cause at the bottom of all the dissatisfaction with the present state of Imperial relations is, of course, that in spite of their unquestioned autonomy the Dominions have had no part in deciding the fundamental issues of war and peace. The appreciation of that fact inspires various demands from thoughtful and patriotic Canadians. Mr. Woodsworth wants a clear dissociation from Great Britain in foreign policy. M. Bourassa wants a return to the policy of the fathers of confederation—to do our part towards the Empire by building up Canada instead of wasting our strength in Imperial wars, and to retain our freedom of action in external policy. And in putting forward his case M. Bourassa confounds the Conservatives by buttressing his nationalist argument with quotations from Bonar Law, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Sir Robert Borden. We can sympathize with the opinion Mr. Woodsworth represents when we remember Mr. Churchill's gambadoes over Chanak and Sir Austen Chamberlain's more recent bungling at Geneva; but, leaving all sentiment aside, Mr. Woodsworth's proposal offers no solution of the problem, as we would soon find if it was put to the test by war in the future; we might decide to keep out of that war, but we would still be treated as an enemy by Great Britain's adversary, and we would then be faced with the alternative of entering the war or making our exit from the Commonwealth. M. Bourassa's ideal is more

reasonable, but it is open to the same objections as Mr. Woodsworth's proposal. If the wars of the future were going to be like the wars of the past—Imperial wars like those in South Africa and the Soudan—it might suffice; but Great Britain will not be indulging in such adventures in the future; she knows she will be lucky to hold what she has got, and her statesmen, even of the most Imperialist stripe, will consistently bend their policy to that end—their altered policy in Egypt and India is proof of that. It is not too much to say that if war comes to Great Britain again it will be thrust upon her, and necessarily thrust upon her by a great power. In other words it will be another world war, and, whatever freedom of action we had reserved, Canada would either be pulled into the war or pushed out of the Commonwealth. And if the future is going to be one of war, what chance would Canada—the richest small nation in the world—stand of maintaining long her independence?

IT is a queer thing that this matter of Imperial relations, whether debated in Parliament or in the press, is still discussed as if we lived in the pre-war world, and the most important factor in our post-war world of international affairs is not taken into account at all. That factor is, of course, the League of Nations. The League is rarely mentioned, yet it has profoundly changed the whole problem since the fundamental issues of war and peace are now League issues. Canada and the other nations of the Commonwealth are pledged by the Covenant of the League to help maintain the peace of the world, and in return they will be given the support of every member of the League in case they are attacked. Why not accept that fact and formulate the common foreign policy, in League affairs at least, that it demands. Instead of objecting to Article 10 of the Covenant we should back every proposal for its reinforcement. This is assuredly a case where honesty is the best policy. The merits of the League from the point of view of small nations are amply recognized; what is too little recognized is that the League offers the great British Commonwealth its best chance of salvation. If we stand by the League and help make it what it should be, then if we ever have to fight we will fight in a good cause, with forty-odd nations behind us, and we will win. If we do not strengthen the League, and it fails, then sooner or later we shall have to fight for our national life, alone, and we shall be beaten.

IT is true that we in Canada have another factor to consider in our external policy that is of first importance, and that is our relation to the United States. But here again the League offers the true solution of any problems that may arise in that connection. If

the League lives and grows, if Germany and Russia are brought into it, and if it proves a unifying force in Europe, the United States will not remain outside; and we would then obtain the alliance between the two English-speaking democracies that is essential to the peace of the world and the security of Canada. It is clear that our hope for the future lies in the League. If the League succeeds, the future will be one of peace and disarmament; if it fails, then the first great power to crack under the strain of a militarist world will be the British Empire, for it is too much to expect that Britain could ever be both mistress of the seas and master of the air. That luminous truth should be the guiding star of the Commonwealth's foreign policy, and until Canadian Nationalists, South African Imperialists, and British Foreign Ministers accept it, the strength of the Empire will be dissipated to no purpose. We believe an ever-growing body of opinion feels as we do on this matter, and that future converts will be recruited largely from nationalist ranks—for it is necessary to be a good nationalist before one can become a good internationalist. But while we differ from M. Bourassa at present as to the means whereby Canada's security is to be assured, we are emphatically at one with him and with Mr. Woodsworth when they insist that now is the time, when we are at peace, for these issues to be considered.

TELL YOUR CHILDREN THE TRUTH

NO estimate could possibly be made of the amount of unnecessary suffering, concealed humiliations, and distortion of moral values caused by the prudishness of parents in failing to teach their children the most rudimentary facts of sex hygiene. With the best intentions, the most necessary information has frequently been withheld by fond fathers and devoted mothers who honestly held the mistaken belief that ignorance and innocence are one and the same thing. In even more cases this inaction has been a result of mental inertia, and even in our present age of enlightenment there are many parents who are inclined to dodge the issue and shrink from what seems to them a difficult and repugnant task. Again, there are numbers of people who appreciate more or less the importance of conveying to their offspring some knowledge of this kind, and yet are tremendously puzzled to know how to set about it. What form should the instruction take, how much information should be divulged, and at what age should the teaching begin? For this last category we can recommend the first pamphlet issued by the Educational Committee of the Canadian Social Hygiene Council, under the title 'Tell Your Children the Truth', which may be obtained from the Council at 40 Elm Street, Toronto 2, for the sum of ten cents. There are many useful

hints in this booklet on the education and training of children with special reference to sex problems, and a list of books is given for those who wish to go into the matter more thoroughly. The pamphlet touches very lightly on some phases of the question, but we are fully in agreement with the Council that it represents a step in the right direction.

THE CONTROL OF CREDIT

ONE of the hardy perennials which blossom in Ottawa at each session of the House is the debate on banking and monetary reform. A great deal of credit is due to Mr. Woodsworth for his persistence in moving a series of these resolutions dealing with important economic problems the majority of which are regarded by the philistines as 'impracticable' and unworthy of serious attention. Even though no immediate results are obtained, the debates have a real educational value; resolutions which are regarded as being of merely academic interest when they are first produced are in the course of time projected into practical politics, and eventually may become crystalized in legislation. The theory underlying most of the attacks on the present banking system is that credit is a social product; that the power inherent in the control of credit should therefore be in the hands of the state rather than in private institutions; and that all profit resulting from the manipulation of credit should be distributed for the benefit of the whole community. The defence of the present system by Mr. Robb was hardly strengthened by quotations from statements made by Sir Frederick Williams-Taylor and Sir John Aird to the effect that the existing system exactly meets our requirements. To obtain an opinion from the President of the Bank of Commerce on this question is equivalent to asking President Coolidge what he thinks of the Republican party or to enquire of Mussolini what are his views on Fascism.

SECRECY IN SCIENCE

SOME months ago Prof. Blair Bell of Liverpool reported in Toronto some successes he had had in the treatment of cancer by means of lead. Since that meeting he has had much publicity and, we believe, many more patients since he returned to Liverpool. Dr. Bell then had an hypothesis based on the physico-chemical constitution of the cell walls of tissues to account for the success of his treatment, an hypothesis which indeed fitted his findings so well that we had some suspicions of its truth. Now, at a recent meeting of the London Medical Society, the report of which has just reached us, we find Dr. Bell being very severely criticized. He is accused of keeping his method of making the lead compound a secret, he has issued a patent on it, on the strength of the insulin precedent, and the value of the whole treatment has

been called in question. Whether Dr. Bell's treatment will prove useful yet remains to be seen, but the issuing of patents in this way, on the pretext that it is to guard the public, is not only contrary to all scientific tradition but actually hinders progress.

THE BUDGET

A DISTINGUISHED naturalist recently advanced the hypothesis that birds do not sing for the purpose of cultivating the affections of their mates, nor is their song the result of sheer exuberance or egotistic pleasure in their own performance. His theory is that a bird fills the air with melodious notes primarily for the purpose of warning other members of his species from trespassing on his private feeding-grounds, particularly during the period when the fledglings are dependent on their parents for the satiation of their voracious appetites. So we have another sentimental illusion shattered and more than ever the cold materialistic laws of economics appear to dominate every sphere of life. We do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the lives of every man, woman, and child in the Dominion will be shaped in some degree by the financial provisions of Mr. Robb's budget. No man, not even a Finance Minister, is infallible, and no man who is responsible for the incidence of taxation could be expected to manipulate his levies in such a way that universal satisfaction would be secured; but if the greatest good to the greatest number is the avowed aim, Mr. Robb is to be commended for having shot pretty close to the mark. There are two ways in which the budget speech may be regarded, first as a piece of party strategy, and secondly it may be considered from a non-partisan point of view and assayed for its intrinsic value. On the first count, as a tactical manoeuvre, as an instrument for the acquisition of votes, it is an admirable achievement. It can hardly fail to improve the prospects of the Liberal party in every province except Ontario, where the party has little to lose, and even here some gains may be made in the rural districts. The West and the low-tariff element in the Maritimes will welcome it as another step in the direction of free trade, while Quebec, with her protectionist leanings, will appreciate that none of her particular industries are in any immediate danger.

But quite apart from all questions of expediency we believe there is much to be said for the latest effort of our Finance Minister. Such minor reliefs as the reduction in postage and the abolition of the receipt tax will be welcomed by all classes as harbingers of better times, an initial relief from the burdens of the war and post-war depression. The large class of individuals who are in receipt of moderate incomes will find the alterations in the income tax very acceptable, particularly the increase in exemption to married per-

sons. On the higher levels there will be in some cases an actual increase by making dividends derived from Canadian investments subject to the tax, but this is in accordance with the sound principle that taxation should be based on capacity to pay. Criticism of this change on the grounds that earnings should not be taxed more than once is to be expected, but the net result will be that the more affluent members of the community will be contributing towards the expenses of government on a scale directly commensurate with their real income, no matter from what source it may be derived. Regarded as a whole, it might be summarized as an excellent middle-class budget, and this may be partly attributable to the fact that it is the middle class in this country which is largely responsible for the creation of that somewhat intangible thing known as public opinion. The budget makes no special provision for Labour as such, but Labour in Canada is not particularly well organized at present; is largely inarticulate; and can usually be depended upon to fall in line with middle-class 'ideology'. The manual labourer is in an exceptionally favourable position compared with his contemporaries in any other country except the United States, and so long as he maintains this relatively advantageous place the exponents of the class struggle will not make any rapid headway. If the Liberals have made no specific gifts to Labour, on the other hand they have adopted an unexpectedly independent attitude towards big business and the monied class in general.

With one exception, the tariff changes should meet with almost universal approval. Several classes of goods such as green coffee, spices, sponges, and tins are placed on the free list under the British Preferential Tariff, and sugar and some other items are subject to a considerable reduction. These changes indicate an improvement in our trade relations with other parts of the Commonwealth, and our only criticism is that the preference does not go nearly far enough. The only really contentious feature is the reduction on automobiles, but the effects of this will be pretty well limited to Ontario, and there can be little doubt that the Dominion as a whole will benefit by the change. It will be unfortunate if any number of workers should be thrown out of employment by the shutting down of some of our factories, but evidently some adjustments have yet to be made in the draw-backs on imported parts, and it is possible that the motor manufacturers will find that they have not been hit quite so hard as they anticipated at first. Considering that it is estimated that some ninety per cent. of the capital invested in the motor industry is owned in the United States, the action of the owners in protesting against the reduction of a tariff which is aimed at American producers is not without its humorous aspects.

UNIVERSITY CONTROL IN ONTARIO

THE Minister of Education for Ontario has made a public announcement that within the next year he expects to complete arrangements for transferring the Pass and Honour work of the first year in the universities to certain selected High Schools and Collegiate Institutes. He hopes in the near future to be able to deal similarly with the work of the second year. This project opens up the most important educational question with which the people of Ontario have been faced in many years.

To the friends of higher education the most ominous aspect of the Minister's announcement consists in the fact that Government has evidently decided to take a hand in determining the academic programme of the universities. In the bad old days before the University Act of 1906 the Government frequently made appointments to the staff of the provincial university without asking the approval of the President or any other academic authority. But even in those days there was no interference with the curriculum. It has been generally assumed that the Act of 1906 had definitely vested University control in a Board of Governors—had definitely removed University administration from immediate government control. The Minister's announcement gives a rude shock to these assumptions. It would seem that for the future those who pay the piper are to call the tune. In the present instance the issue is made unequivocal by the fact that college and university opinion, as far as we can judge, is practically a unit in disapproving of the tune.

If we turn to consider the intrinsic merits of the proposed change it is difficult to believe that it is not based on a radically false educational principle. There is a discipline that is appropriate for the elementary schools, and another discipline for secondary schools, and another for universities, and it is a matter of the highest importance to determine when one discipline should cease and another begin. It is probably true that the average boy of fair abilities should begin secondary school studies at least two years earlier than he is permitted to begin them under our system. The boy of ten learns the languages with a facility which steadily grows less as he grows older. Algebra, geometry, and science make an appeal to his imagination which saves him from the fatal danger of coming to feel that his studies are mere task-work. Similarly as he enters on young manhood and becomes conscious of his developing abilities it is supremely important that he be introduced to a new educational environment. He has become critical of the old environment—of parents, of teachers, of belief; he is nothing if not critical. A new discipline is imperative. For many a youth, entering college is the most stimulating, the most significant event in his life. The ex-

perience can only be likened to the withdrawing of a curtain, beyond which he sees the outlines of a world of which he had hardly dreamed—a world of ideas, of scholarship and culture which he is invited to enter, and in which he may make the acquaintance of the good and the wise of all countries and of all times. He meets other youths whose experiences have differed widely from his own, and who are pursuing the most varied ambitions; he finds himself treated as a man capable of self-direction; he learns that the most assiduous gathering of information can never be more than a means to an end. As a result his mental and moral development is quickened incredibly. If a university does not accomplish some such result it fails in its primary function—the function so clearly envisaged by Newman and other great educators. But it does not fail utterly, and an instinctive recognition of this fact explains the position which universities occupy in the modern world. Now the collective judgment of the educated world is that a boy should enter on this new discipline at about eighteen years of age. Can it be seriously contended that the same educational results can be achieved by keeping him for one or two years longer in a High School, where the majority of the students are children from whom he has grown away, and to whom his instructors must devote the greater part of their time?

There is another aspect of the matter that deserves close attention. All over the Western world the demand for higher education is steadily increasing, and no doubt a desire to extend educational facilities is responsible for the present proposals. This is well and of good augury for the future, but it involves a subtle danger to educational standards. The popular demand is for the opportunities to which education is the key; it is not a discriminating demand as far as the quality of the education is concerned. The testimony of American university professors is to the effect that they find it increasingly difficult to maintain real standards of scholarship, and many of them regard our honours courses as a last bulwark against the rising flood of mass education. If these courses are reduced by one or two years the very idea that inspires them will be emasculated, and the distinctive genius of our Arts Colleges destroyed. This is the almost unanimous opinion of the men best qualified to judge.

It is a disturbing reflection that probably at no time in our history have our universities exercised a smaller influence on our educational system as a whole than that which they exercise to-day. There was a time when a goodly number of our First-Class Honours graduates became High School teachers, and their influence in the schools is still gratefully and proudly remembered in the province. To an increasing extent their places are being filled by Pass men

and graduates of extra-mural courses. The universities no longer determine even the character of their own entrance examinations. There is a most serious lack of co-ordination somewhere. It may be true that the good teacher is born, not made, but the teacher who lacks distinction in scholarship, or who is not possessed by a great desire to increase his scholarship from year to year, cannot do the work which we have a right to expect from our secondary schools. Why should we not secure the services of those whose love of learning leads them to spend from one to three years in our Graduate school? Far too many of them find a warm welcome in the United States. Are the scholarly standards of our own schools in no need of reinforcement? There is a great field in Ontario for the Minister of Education who will discover an effective method of utilizing for our own schools the best brains of our undergraduate and graduate courses—a method for placing an effective embargo on the export of our best educational talent. In such activity, we venture to predict, he can do much greater service to this province than by attempting to subject the curricula of the universities to the Department of Education.

THE GOVERNMENT TAKES THE OFFENSIVE

A POLITICAL Correspondent writes: The effect of the Budget on the Liberal party has been the same as when smelling salts are applied to the nose of a delicate lady who is on the verge of fainting. It has revived their drooping spirits, consolidated their *rapprochement* with the Progressives, and offered proof that the King Ministry is a living functioning administration—a point concerning which grave doubts were hitherto entertained. However there are usually a series of revised versions of the Budgets of this government, and it might be prudent to suspend final judgment.

On the financial side it is a prodigious gamble whose success will demand not merely a continuance of the present level of prosperity but its notable betterment during the present fiscal year. Mr. Robb has frankly forecasted expenditures for this year of 381 million dollars, for which the 376 million dollars of revenue collected in 1925-26 would have been inadequate. But he now proposes reductions of taxation which by his own admission will entail a sacrifice of about 25 million dollars of revenue, and the plain conclusion is that there must be an improvement of almost 10 per cent. in the yield of the surviving taxes during 1926-27 if the next Budget is not to show a reversion to deficits. To more people than the irate holders of G.T.P. debentures are the financial operations of the C.N.R. a baffling puzzle, and Mr. Robb

has disdained to offer any explanation of the mystery why the contribution sought by the C.N.R. from the Federal Treasury should take a swift downward curve from 42½ to 10 million dollars and then next year (when there is no sign of any setback in the excellent earnings which cut the deficit last year) should bound sharply upward again to 31 million dollars in 1926-27. Obviously a determined effort has been made to make a peculiarly specious showing for the system in the fiscal year 1925-26, and the common Conservative interpretation is that the recent presentation of the nation's accounts has been carefully planned to create an atmosphere which will offer favourable chances of success for the attainment of a clear Liberal majority at a second election in the summer or fall. But my own view is that the French-Canadian wing of the Liberal party will not lightly consent to any rash adventures with the electorate, and that the Progressives will be equally indisposed to any sudden temptings of fate. Of course, if the Conservatives were to embark upon tactics of deliberate obstruction of the Budget, the Government would probably seek a dissolution, but there is little danger of such a development until the Opposition discerns some better prospects of success for its courtship of Quebec than are now visible. For the moment the Liberals will be satisfied if the Budget avails to confute the charges of helpless incompetence which have been levelled against the King Ministry.

Meanwhile the Budget has provided Mr. Meighen's enemies with the opportunity to launch a fresh crusade against him. Three days after its appearance the Montreal *Star* made it the text for a long editorial dissertation upon the woes and perils involved in the continuance of his leadership of the Conservative party. A new technique however was employed; gone were the old strains of acidulated vituperation, and in their place was a tone of soft and engaging persuasiveness. The Budget, argued the *Star*, had elements of popularity, but it exposed the imminent peril in which the sacred structure of the National Policy stands, and further ravages were inevitable as long as the Progressives held the Government by the throat. The advent of Mr. Dunning had destroyed the prospect of any Conservative gains in the West, nay had even made losses probable at a second general election. Yet the supreme tragedy of the situation lay in the fact that in the good old province of Quebec were thousands of ardent devotees of protection eager to rush to its defence whose hands to-day were tied because they could never bring themselves to enlist under the banner of Mr. Meighen. 'Mr. Meighen must go!' used to be the invariable climax of this argument, but the latest editorial ends with a plaintive appeal to the Conservative leader to devote his great talents to some other form of human activity than

politics and set his party free to secure a leader who will be palatable to Quebec and so save the threatened fabric of protection. But I cannot visualize Mr. Meighen succumbing to the gentle pleadings of the *Star* and making way for Mr. C. H. Cahan, who is now the favourite candidate of Lord Atholstan for the Tory chieftainship. Mr. Cahan is a wily and experienced politician, who has a certain facility for public speech, often verging upon garrulity, but he is the most perfect type of the reactionary 'diehard' that has come to the House of Commons since the war, and I can confidently predict that under his leadership Conservative hopes of a clear majority would recede with astonishing rapidity.

There is now no expectation that the Government will come to grief this session over its legislative or financial programmes, but danger is admitted to lurk in another quarter. High Comedy has a prominent place in the proceedings of the 'smuggling' committee. Gilbertian in flavour are alike the name and career of Capt. Zinck, Chief Preventive Officer at Lunenburg, N.S., who emerges as a sort of transatlantic nautical Rob Roy with his gorgeous scheme for mulcting the prosperous rum-running fleet of that port of some of their gains. Pathetic, too, was the zeal of our new Deputy-Speaker to save from corroding stain the good name of that lamented Liberal statesman, the Hon. W. C. Kennedy, when one of Mr. Duff's schooners, bearing the name of his old friend and bound nominally with a cargo of rum for the Bahamas, was captured in compromising circumstances off the coast of Pictou. Then there was the strange case of the New Brunswick citizen of the Turco-Hebraic name of Moses Aziz, whose release after conviction was implored last September by Mr. Robichaud, M.P., on the ground that he would be a 'precious help' in the approaching election. But to this picture there is a very dark and disturbing side. The researches of the committee have already disclosed a complete state of demoralization in one department of administration, and there is convincing evidence that for some years gangs of smugglers and crooks have enjoyed not merely the tacit connivance of a multitude of Customs officials, but in many cases their active co-operation in making a wholesale mockery of the Customs laws of Canada. The Conservatives have been disappointed that the trails which they have uncovered did not lead to the doors of more Liberal potentates, but they believe that some good fish will yet come into their net. They profess to be satisfied with the results, and hope to frame an unanswerable indictment against the Government as the basis for a want of confidence resolution which the Progressives will have to vote for or forever abjure their role of apostles of political purity. The Liberals are aware of the peril, but hope that the necessary coat of whitewash can be applied.

EUROPE'S CONCEPTION OF CANADA

BY GRAHAM SPRY

EUROPEANS long ago gave up the effort to understand Anglo-Saxons, and many of the finest minds that ever applied themselves to constitutional questions utterly failed to comprehend the British constitution. De Tocqueville, for example, did his best—and a very good one—yet he half came to the conclusion that *'ce n'existe point'*. For evidence of what other people understood or misunderstood the British constitution to be, we need only consider the sad travesties of parliamentary government which were set up on the British model in the last hundred years. To-day the British and the British constitution have been more or less given up as impossible.

The British Commonwealth is a term that has only added to the mystification. To explain to Europeans that the Dominions such as Canada are legally and willingly subjects of 'George V. by the grace of God, King', yet not constitutionally bound in any way to carry out his will or that of his English ministers, is utterly impossible. Article IX. of the Locarno Pact, embodying that apparently contradictory principle, is left severely alone by many of the sagest commentators on that treaty. Some hazard a guess. There are those who say that the Commonwealth *'n'existe plus'*. There are those who interpret it as simply the artful method by which *'Albion perfide'* limits her responsibilities. But most give up in the utter hopelessness of one who has found an incomprehensible as great as life itself.

It is the delight of Canadians in Geneva to ask Europeans their opinion of Canada. Canada is a concrete case; no one, not even a De Tocqueville, could say Canada does not exist; there in the League Canada sits and says her say, and on the governing body of the Labour office has representation as the fifth industrial power of the world. Time after time I have asked people here what they considered the position of Canada to be. The greatest number confess they do not know and shake their heads in kindly amazement. The rest, who essay an answer, can be divided into two classes—those who are sure we are Americans; those who have no doubt that we are English. When President Harding died, the good Frenchmen of the pension I was staying in at Grenoble shook my hand sympathetically and expressed their condolences. That a Canadian could be anything else but an American, coming from the same continent, seemed impossible. This represents the first view. The other view, the view of those who consider Canada part and parcel, a chattel and no more, of Great Britain, is expressed in the words of a Greek passport

official. Examining with some doubt a Canadian passport, and for some moments in vain trying to solve the doubt, he at last remarked, *'Ah, oui, le Canada, c'est en occupation de l'Angleterre, n'est-ce pas?'*

The truth is, indeed, that a greater part of Europe never thought of Canada as an entity in itself until after the war. The part that the Canadian army played was not taken as an expression of Canadian nationality, but as the almost feudal contribution of a subject people. Certainly that was the view of the central powers. When the peace came, and, due to the persistent efforts of Sir Robert Borden and General Smuts, Canada took her place in the peace conferences and later in the League of Nations, even then there was no change of view. The European thought largely as the United States thought. He believed that the presence of the Dominions as full-members of the League was simply a means by which Great Britain multiplied her voting power. That the Dominions were capable of independent action or would take independent action seemed unlikely and impossible. The incident in which Canada and Belgium opposed France and Great Britain at Versailles in the name of small powers was overlooked. Even in 1922 there was misunderstanding which caused quite a little battle between Canada and Italy at the Labour Conference in Geneva on the question of Canada being both British and Canadian. The question was whether Canada, as the fifth industrial power of the world, was or was not entitled to a seat on the governing body of the Labour Organization. Italy said Canada was represented by Great Britain. For one day it seemed as if the Italian view would prevail. Then Ernest Lapointe appeared, and in a speech that is still remembered in Geneva he utterly destroyed the Italian thesis and justified Canada's claim. Canada won her seat, and, for once at least, there could be no doubt that the representation accorded was accorded in virtue of Canada being Canada.

But is there no sign of understanding? Slowly it is coming, and it is coming almost entirely through Canada's participation in the League. Here, in Geneva, either through the Assembly, or commissions of the Assembly, or the Labour conference, or the quarterly meetings of the Labour office governing body, or the scores of less imposing, less heard of, international conferences at Geneva, the existence of Canada both as an entity and as a partner in the British Commonwealth is slowly becoming understood. The members of the League are having increasingly numerous contacts with Can-

ada and Canadian representatives. Canada, as never before, is becoming a reality to the statesmen of the world, and is making it more and more possible for these statesmen to understand, or at least to accept the existence of national unity and Imperial unity side by side. They are realizing that on questions of security the Dominions are practically at one with the Motherland, and that the slightest suggestion of weakening any member of the Commonwealth unites all of them. They are equally realizing, these statesmen, that on other questions the Dominions go their own way, and sometimes utterly disagree. In the Opium conference, for example, Canada voted against Great Britain. In the last Assembly of the League, Canada and Ireland went a step farther than Great Britain on the question of compulsory arbitration. Then there is the great case of Article IX. of the Locarno pact. The cases could be multiplied, and with the example of this strange existence before their eyes, a practice, an actuality, foreign nations, whether they understand or not, at least acknowledge that the fact exists—that there is in this world a medley of people who create an institution no one else can account for, an institution which is united one moment and disunited the next, yet never changes its fabric, its appearance, its loyalties. The presence of Senator Dandurand in the chair of the Assembly itself helped enormously. And the fact that he, a French-speaking Canadian, should be sent from Canada, and then be proposed as chairman by

an English delegate, revealed the truth of the British claim that the Commonwealth represented no racial dominance. Yes, Europe and the world are slowly beginning to accept, to acknowledge, even vaguely to understand the British Commonwealth, and by understanding the Commonwealth they come to understand the position of Canada.

With knowledge there has come, too, a certain respect. For the names of Canadian delegates to the League, names such as Rowell, Foster, Lapointe, and Dandurand, stand high with other delegates. There is, indeed, no recommendation to compare with a good delegate to the League. And there is another aspect. The relative importance of small nations is far greater to-day than ever before. The war greatly weakened the great powers. The League has strengthened the little. Canada occupies an intermediate position between great and small, and of these intermediate powers of similar population Canada, as the senior of the British Dominions, as a neighbour and an interpreter of the United States, as a nation composed of peoples speaking the two official languages of the League, above all (for without them these other sides would not be seen) through the quality and character of some of her delegates to the League or the Labor conference, Canada occupies a leading place—a position of real influence quite disproportionate to her power or the share she is willing to take in world affairs.

GENEVA.

NEW MYTHS FOR OLD—II

PROFESSOR BARNES AND WAR ORIGINS

BY MACK EASTMAN

I HAVE dwelt too long upon ex-Chancellor Marx. I had hoped to come more quickly to an equally remarkable article which appeared last July in *THE CANADIAN FORUM*, and which escaped my eye until recently. Professor Barnes' 'Fresh Light on War Origins' merits attention, even at eight months of distance, on account of the brilliant qualities and intrepid character of the author as well as the distinctive traits of the contribution itself.

In a foreword, Mr. Barnes mentions three 'convincing' works by scholarly and courageous Frenchmen, MM. Fabre-Luce, Morhardt, and Judet. Later on he implies that Fabre-Luce is objective also. While thoroughly appreciating the excellent qualities of these writers, I cannot consent to calling them objective or convincing. Fabre-Luce is talented and attractive, but highly interpretative and highly subjective. His indictment of M. Poincaré is clever but overdone. When Dr. Barnes says, 'Even Fabre-Luce . . . admits that after Poincaré's visit to Russia there was never any

real chance of averting the war', it is as if someone wrote, 'Even E. D. Morel admitted that English policy was wrong'.

As for the 'convincing' quality of Matthias Morhardt, I shall convey an impression of it to my Canadian readers more readily by quoting his estimate of Sir Edward Grey rather than of M. Poincaré, who labours under a certain disability as 'a foreigner'. After denouncing Sir Edward's 'bad faith', 'ill will', and 'criminal attitude', Morhardt concludes:

He showed that in reality he was merely preoccupied with setting a trap for the commercial and industrial adversary of England, and that, in addition, he was perfectly resolved to suppress this competitor. British diplomacy carried through this programme right to the end with cynical perseverance. If we think of the cost of the immense drama which, merely for the material benefit of England, unfolded itself during more than four years, we cannot help feeling a sense of disgust and shame.

Morhardt is heavily documented and in deadly earnest, and he goes after M. Poincaré even more 'convincingly'.

As for the unhappy Ernest Judet, his bitter hatred of his persecutors, Poincaré and Clemenceau, 'this generation of reptiles', naturally detracts from the historic value of his interpretations, although his chivalrous vindication of Georges Louis makes fascinating reading.

All three writers, says Professor Barnes, 'unhesitatingly agree in placing the responsibility for the aggressive Russian mobilization and the precipitation of the war upon Poincaré and the military group in France . . .'. This is half right and half wrong. Their one *bête noire* is Poincaré without any military group to share his guilt.

So much for the foreword. We now come to the opening paragraph.

'Whatever the case earlier, Germany was far less prepared for war in a military sense in 1914 than Russia and France.' This was not Bernhardt's opinion. Early in 1914, he held that France would need three years more to prepare. On the eve of the war, Senator Humbert made startling disclosures as to the dilapidated state of the frontier fortresses, the infantry's lack of boots, etc. In uniforms also there was grave unpreparedness. The blazing red trousers had been condemned three years before, but funds had not been found to equip more than a few units with 'horizon blue' or similar 'invisible' apparel. Nor did Russia hope to be ready until 1917 when her system of strategic railways would be complete.

'General Buat admits that in 1914 the French active army was 910,000, as against 870,000 for Germany, with nearly twice the population of France.' True, the Three-Year Law had been a frantic effort to throw everybody available into the first line of defence, since Germany's double population provided masses of reserves with which France could not compete. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that Buat is writing an apologia for the French General Staff, which had been accused of leaving the country inadequately protected, and that consequently for him the highest figures are the truest. His estimate is higher even than that of the German experts, who make it 794,000 Frenchmen, with an allowance of 19,000 more for the Foreign Legion and 67,000 for the coloured troops. General Sir Frederick Maurice gives the Germans an initial advantage of 90,000 plus a number equal to the number of Frenchmen doing garrison duty abroad. (*Foreign Affairs*, N.Y., July, 1925, p. 617.) All these estimates include French troops stationed in Algeria and Morocco, as well as the colonial garrisons scattered far and wide, so that even the available 'active army' was considerably less than the German. Furthermore, the German Army Law of 1913 provided for a final increase of 60,000 in October, 1914. In other words, had the war been delayed till October, the Germans would have had over 900,-

000 men available, as against possibly 750,000 French soldiers actually in France. This aspect of the question is not of supreme importance, since reserves, artillery, munitions, and factories were the ultimate factors, but if a writer is citing just one authority, it would be wiser not to quote a notorious extremist.

'Colonel Repington has admitted that the German army was, in regard to equipment, manœuvres, and leadership, inferior to the French. This was especially true in the artillery branch.' Doubtless this pathetic unpreparedness of the German army accounts for the incredible rapidity of its nearly successful rush upon Paris. However, the uninitiated should be warned that, in spite of Mr. Barnes' use of the perfect tense here, Colonel Repington made his luckless estimate in October, 1911, to the great and well-founded disgust of the Germans. Even in the artillery, the French superiority was confined to the 'seventy-fives', while their weakness in 'heavies' and in machine-guns was a source of anxiety to scientifically-minded Frenchmen who disapproved of the General Staff's policy of spending its money upon crowding the barracks instead of developing the mechanical side of the army.

'It is also true that the group in control of France wanted a world war in 1914 before England could be detached from active participation in the Entente.' Some such bold guess as this is necessary to round out Mr. Barnes' main thesis, but in default of any proof we may be pardoned for considering probabilities. The reader should know that in May, 1914, the general elections had registered the popular reaction from the warlike tension of 1912-13, and the Chamber had a strong Leftward and pacifist majority, unfriendly to the maintenance of the Three-Year Law. Hence the choice of the socialistically-minded Viviani as Premier, and his selection of a true Leftward ministry. Viviani disliked military men, and the only one in his cabinet was the Minister of War, Captain Messimy, a man who certainly would not influence the course of events. When the war did break out, the Nationalists thought it a tragic joke that such a 'group of bleating pacifists' should have been obliged to call the country to arms against the invader. In March of that year, having a pretty good idea of the dangerous drift of 1912-13, I had felt constrained to warn an assembly of United Farmers of Alberta and other audiences in Calgary of the disaster toward which we were or had been heading (*Grain Growers' Guide*, May, 1914). The salutary Leftward swing of the May elections in France, and the definitive change in 'the group in control', gave me an absolute assurance that henceforth the inevitable tendency of the new French Government would be to put the brakes on the war-chariot, and to strive, however weakly, toward the pacification of Europe. The German Social Democrats were delighted with the composition of the

new French Chamber. For the Americans, however, 'a president is a president', and Mr. Barnes will insist that President Poincaré himself was 'the group in control'. Neither Professor Gooch nor M. Renouvin think that Poincaré wanted war in 1914, and in any case he could do nothing without the assent of the new government.

'The immediate responsibility for the World War . . . is to be found in the growing collusion between Poincaré and the Russian militarists . . . He also encouraged Russia to adopt a strong policy in the Balkans.' Certainly the Soviets rendered history a true service by opening the Czarist archives, and as certainly the resultant revelations are embarrassing for M. Poincaré and others. In the *Livre Noir*, M. Isvolsky very frequently gives his superiors to understand that M. Poincaré is their man. However, one finds a bit of everything in these documents, and there are a number of cases where France sought to moderate Russian action. Let us pick two or three examples. First, take Sazonoff's report upon his visit to Paris in the autumn of 1912 while Poincaré is really still in power, or 'in control', or, in other words, Premier. Sazonoff tells the Czar that France 'feels disquietude' at the thought that Balkan events, by involving Russia and Austria, might eventually drag her into war (*Livre Noir*, II, p. 356). Second, July 25, 1913, a fortnight after the Chamber has accepted the Three-Year Law, M. Poincaré being merely President of the Republic, Isvolsky wires Sazonoff: 'The Minister of Foreign Affairs [Stephen Pichon] refuses to admit,—in spite of the "very painful impression" that his declarations may provoke in St. Petersburg,—that Russia may commit an act which would constitute a danger to peace.' (The act in view is a demonstration against Turkey in Armenia.) (*Livre Noir*, II, p. 113.) Third, late in 1913, when the Radical Doumergue has succeeded the Conservative Barthoin as Premier, with Caillaux as Minister of Finance, and the pendulum shows signs of swinging Leftward again, the Russian Prime Minister reports to the Czar that, 'as at present composed, the French Government shows the undoubted and hardly hidden tendency to avoid every eventuality which might set France back upon the path of adventures. . . . We observe a single tendency: that of maintaining calm and peace.' Quotations of this sort spoil hopelessly the symmetry of the plot.

Doumergue made way early in June, 1914, for a Socialistic-Radical Ministry headed by Viviani ⁽¹⁾. Let us now reach forward an instant to a continuation of Dr. Barnes' indictment of 'the group in control of France'. We are trembling on the brink of a catastrophe:

⁽¹⁾ To beginners in contemporary French and European history, may I recommend the truly objective and mercilessly accurate work of Seignobos, *L'Europe Contemporaine*, I, 275-8 (Paris, Colin, 1924).

'The French officials made no effort to prevent the Russians from proceeding with the fatal military preparations, but urged them to hurry these along (provided they covered up their acts and intentions adequately) in order that more time might be gained on Germany.' This sweeping declaration requires some qualification. For one thing, the Russian preparations began without the knowledge of the French officials. For another, Premier Viviani and President Poincaré were both on the sea and out of effective touch with events from July 23 to 29 inclusive. The only chance the French Government had to express an opinion was on the morning of July 30 when Russia was thinking of passing from partial to general mobilization. Isvolsky wires Sazonoff that because of the peace parleys still going on the French Government judges it extremely desirable that whatever preparations the Russians are making '*eussent le moins possible un caractère apparent et provocateur*'. So far, so good; but the telegram continues; the Russian military attaché tells Isvolsky that Captain Messimy has told him that the Russians might declare themselves ready for peace's sake to slow down their preparations, even if they not only continued them but intensified them, provided they avoided serious transportation of troops. Mr. Barnes, who habitually condemns M. Isvolsky and the Russian military caste, nevertheless believes implicitly in the good faith of the attaché and of the wily ambassador the moment they put a French minister in a bad light. He then generalizes poor Messimy into his collective capacity as 'the French officials'. Whether or not M. Messimy let slip a perfidious phrase, the Premier and the Political Director of the Quai d'Orsay, far from urging Russia on, did both insist against general mobilization at this time. (*Livre Noir* II, pp. 280-1; *Livre Jaune*, p. 101.) Accordingly, the artistic unity of Mr. Barnes' tragedy must suffer again.

'Poincaré . . . gave Russia a free hand in the Serbian crisis, and promised vigorous French aid.' If we added 'in harmony with the terms of the defensive Franco-Russian Alliance', this statement could be allowed to stand. 'The [Russian] mobilization which both French and Russians knew would mean certain and inevitable war.' This raises a very debatable question. Certainly the German General Staff held that their own general mobilization meant war; and the French and Russian Staffs agreed to accept German (or Austrian) mobilization as a sure sign of opening hostilities. However, the special reasons operating in the case of Germany did not apply to a vast, slow-moving country like Russia. Even in Austria mobilization did not mean war during the Balkan troubles of 1912-13. Mobilization doctrines depend on the nature of the country concerned as well as on the character of its plan of operations. When you mobilize on a Schlieffen Paris-and-return plan, that means war.

Continuing our study of the Powers of Darkness, we learn that 'the Allies rejected a practicable Italian scheme to secure mediation, and Sir Edward Grey . . . strongly influenced the later phases of the Russian general mobilization. . . .' In view of Professor Barnes' reference to Morhardt, I must suppose that he is basing this grave accusation upon *Les Preuves*, chap. vii. Here, Morhardt, in blind wrath, rages 'convincingly' against the 'felony' and 'perfidy' of Sir Edward Grey and against England's spirit of 'cupidity and low piracy', her 'entirely ignominious attitude', and the 'wickedness of her secret designs'. His documentation is complete and scrupulously accurate, but it doesn't say what Morhardt hears it say. Since Mr. Barnes (like Professor Fay, ex-Chancellor Marx, and M. Poincaré) has recognized elsewhere the superiority of Renouvin, it is extraordinary that he has not noticed how easily this specialist has disposed in a paragraph and a footnote of Morhardt's myth (*Les Origines Immédiates*, p. 128). The Italian scheme was admirable. The only drawback was that Berchtold had let Sir Edward understand that Austria would accept no discussion on the Serbian note. When the first version of this 'practicable' Italian suggestion had reached the Kaiser the preceding day, this monarch, who, as Mr. Barnes wittily says, had a genuine desire for peace 'within the limitations of his temperament', made two encouraging notes in the margin: 'Nonsense!' and 'I'll have nothing to do with it'. But the poor old Kaiser has been hung too often for me to hang him afresh. As far as I can see, the excellent Italian proposal was finally killed when Austria answered that since she was now at war with Serbia the latter's 'integral acceptance' of the ultimatum would no longer suffice.

For Mr. Barnes, Austria used to be the naughty nation. However, she has been growing in grace. 'Her attitude toward Serbia was the only practicable one, if she hoped to maintain the territorial integrity of the Dual Monarchy.' Undoubtedly Austria had a right to reparations and guarantees, but that is not what her government wished. Vienna wanted or needed war against Serbia. The terms of the ultimatum were drawn up purposely so that Serbia could not accept them. On July 7, at the cabinet meeting held in Vienna, the idea was that 'such broad demands must be made of Serbia as to ensure refusal and to allow of preparing the way to a radical solution by means of military intervention' (*Pièces diplomatiques*, publiées par la République d'Autriche, I, p. 8). Three days later, Count Berchtold confided to the German ambassador that he was reflecting over 'the conditions which might be laid down to Serbia so as to render acceptance completely impossible' (*Deutsche Dokumente* 29). This attitude, Mr. Barnes assures us, was 'the only practicable one'. Serbia understood it and mobilized (unwisely) in self-defence.

Furthermore, 'the Austrian policy in July, 1914, did not embody in any sense the desire for a world war. . . . The civil government in Germany and the Kaiser were distinctly opposed to a world war'. Obviously, if the Central Empires could have crushed Serbia without any European complications, they would not have worked up a world war for the fun of the thing. It is none the less true that at the aforesaid cabinet meeting of July 7 in Vienna, war with Russia was considered '*très vraisemblable*' if the Austrian army invaded Serbia. There was even a long discussion as to whether it was in the interest of the Empire to delay a European war. As for Germany, on July 6 the Kaiser envisaged the possibility of a general war and advised the military authorities not to lose sight of that eventuality, although he rather thought Russia would not dare fight because she was not ready (*Deutsche Dokumente*, preface, *passim*). At this time he did nothing toward avoiding this possible European conflict. True, three weeks later, after July 27 (*Pièces diplomatiques*, II, p. 68) the German Government regretted having given Austria a free hand, and sought to restrain her. Why? Fear of English intervention (*Deutsche Dokumente*, Nos. 258, 265, 384), a detail Mr. Barnes seems to have overlooked.

In the preceding paragraph I have drawn attention to a few of the more noticeable exaggerations or inaccuracies in this wholesale indictment of the Entente; and possibly I may now be permitted to recall a few facts so well-known to Mr. Barnes himself that he has not thought it necessary to refresh the memory of his Canadian readers or even to take account of them in his own generalizations. In considering the case of Austria, it is impossible to forget (1) her refusal on July 28 to engage in direct conversations with Russia; (2) her declaration of war upon Serbia on the same day, an act purposely hastened in order to head off intervention by putting Europe in the presence of a *fait accompli* (*Pièces diplomatiques*, II, 78); (3) her refusal on July 30 and 31 to accept the British proposal of mediation although it permitted her occupation of a bit of Serbian territory as security (*Pièces diplomatiques*, III, 79; Conrad von Hotzen-dorff, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit*, IV, 147). This is a fact of capital importance.

Likewise in trying to estimate the degree of responsibility attributable to Germany, we are bound to remember (1) her refusal on July 27 of Sir Edward's proposal of a conference; (2) her refusal to accept arbitration at the Hague (*Deutsche Dokumente*, 391); (3) her refusal on July 31 to study any new proposal for conciliation (*Blue Book*, Nos. 121 and 130).

In conclusion, I must beg my readers not to infer that I am out of sympathy with what Mr. Barnes calls the 'revisionist point of view'. I am a 'revisionist' by temperament and through historical study. With re-

gard to the World War, I was a 'revisionist' before it broke out, while it was in progress, and after it closed. For me it was the inevitable product of sets of forces, which, speeded up and intensified in their operation by the progress of industry and science, must at length cause havoc unless the nations learned in time to organize internationally. It would be cold comfort for the stricken peoples to believe their neighbours were to blame. In truth, I said, the immediate responsibilities will be 50-50, evenly divided, or all tangled together and scientifically inseparable. When the cataclysm did occur, I thought it probably not 50-50, but 49-51, leaving me a margin to fight on but not to lie on. The notion of Germany's exclusive responsibility has always appeared to me unutterably absurd; and I am for the revision of Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles. When American writers, having outrageously 'bamboozled' the American public when Germany was the foe, set about courageously to debamboozle this same public, I can only applaud. But when these same writers begin to re-bamboozle this same public, when, in their neophytic zeal they sell it new myths for old, when they flop from Germanophobia into Francophobia⁽²⁾, when in their incurable *naïveté* of devil-worshippers, they first shout, 'Twas the Kaiser did it!' then, 'No! 'Twas Poincaré!'—I am confirmed in my conviction that most of them are fickle weathercocks. Since 1919, for various reasons, political and financial, the prevailing wind has been anti-French. Automatically, the pen-pointed vane swings straight on Paris. 'If', says Mr. Barnes, 'one were to list the Great Powers in the order of their responsibility for the immediate outbreak of the war, he would have to agree that Russia and France tie for first place, and are followed in order by Austria, Germany, and England.' The atmospheric conditions have been telling on Mr. Barnes. Twenty months ago, in *Current History*, he was according Austria first place in the Rogues' Race. France and Russia are now neck and neck. With several laps to go, the odds are all in favour of France—unless, *unless* she hearken to the voice across the waters, and 'forego all notion of any reparations from Germany'. So, we see, Mr. Barnes' drama is a *pièce à thèse*.

What then is this thesis? Briefly this: 'The guilt for the World War having been distributed, the expense of indemnifying the sufferers should likewise be distributed.' The United States 'might indicate its good-will and intentions by cancelling the debts' of France and England upon condition that they 'forego all notion of any reparations from Germany', and 'adopt the programme of a mutual sharing of the burdens of reconstruction and rehabilitation'. Now this is a most welcome thought! Nothing could rouse

greater enthusiasm in these two guilty countries. Instantly the French Government would exclaim, '*Messieurs les Américains, tirez les premiers!*' The franc would rise to five cents; the distribution 'of the expense of indemnifying the sufferers' would reduce the French internal debt to a degree that would surprise the aforesaid much-bamboozled American public. A cancellation of the inter-allied debts would mean vastly more to France (not to speak of Britain) than all the Dawes Plans imaginable. The American Commission recognized this last September when it refused Caillaux the safeguard clause he so earnestly demanded. Does Mr. Barnes not realize that the pressure of American claims upon Britain, involving British and American pressure upon France, was the final, determining factor in Poincaré's mad plunge into the Ruhr? Indeed, the adamant firmness of America's original refusal to consider cancellation was in part responsible for the Peace Conference's first fantastic estimates of what Germany must pay. Has Mr. Barnes forgotten Frederick Bausman's quotation of Mr. Lamont? 'From start to finish of the Peace Conference, President Wilson and his advisers, without exception, opposed vigorously and finally any such suggestions or proposition of cancellation'⁽³⁾. America likewise rejected every proposal for 'a mutual sharing' of any burdens whatsoever. Yet at that time she knew nothing of the 'war-guilt' of her companions. However, the Dawes Plan and the general principles of reparations are not 'based upon the assumption of unique German responsibility for the war'. Reparations were agreed upon before Germany surrendered and long before the egregious Section 231 was ever penned. 'The boxer pays for his music-hall', and Germany's loud-resounding music-hall was the shattered north of France.

'Once England and France give some such evidence of international honesty and decency, one of the chief obstacles and objections would be removed to the United States joining the League of Nations.' This surely caps the climax! Is the reader to take it seriously? No, no, Mr. Barnes! America rejected the League while she was still under the illusion that England and France were decent and honest. Their moral deformities had nothing to do with the case. The immediate reason for her rejection of the League was that it was sponsored by the losing side in American politics. The ultimate reason was that in majority her citizens imagined themselves better off without it. Personally, I am firmly convinced that their attitude is as utterly mistaken as it is entirely natural and explicable. It is the fundamental misfortune of the League, of Europe, and of the world. Had America honoured her President's signature, France would have felt secure; Poincaré and the Right would not have overthrown Briand

(²) e.g., Frederick Bausman in his frantic polemic entitled *Let France Explain* (Allen and Unwin, 1922).

(³) *Let France Explain* p. 55.

and the Left; there would have been no invasion of the Ruhr; Germany would have entered the League long ago, and world peace would be more nearly assured. In final analysis the origin of the World War was in the lack of world organization. The failure of the League would be the prelude to the next war. The

'guilt' of the next war would rest ultimately upon the heads of those who, by refusing to support the League, constituted themselves inevitably an almost insuperable obstacle in its path. All honour to the American minority which understands and proclaims this truth!

PARLIAMENT'S NEW PROBLEM

A LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW

BY SENATOR JOHN LEWIS

This is the third article of a series in which outstanding members of our various political parties and groups will discuss our national problems and plainly state what they stand for in Canadian development. In this period of uncertainty and confusion great issues have been obscured and small ones have assumed an undue prominence. We hope that this symposium may help to clarify the situation and reveal national and party issues in true perspective.—ED. THE CANADIAN FORUM.

GOLDWIN SMITH, arguing against the party system, said that human nature could not be bisected—to-day he might have said trisected. And even those of us who regard partyism as inevitable would do well to remember that a Conservative may have Liberal tendencies, as Sir Robert Peel had, and that a Liberal may lean towards Conservatism on the one side or Radicalism on the other.

One ought not, in explaining his party preferences, to dwell too much upon tradition except as it may afford guidance for future action. I cherish the Liberal tradition so far as it stands for self-government, national unity, and freedom from racial, religious, or other prejudice, and I believe that the Mackenzie King Government stands firmly for these principles. "Cut prejudice against the grain" would be one of my watchwords. Canadians have reason for pride in these respects. The Liberal or Reform party may fairly claim credit for the great advance made in self-government in the forties, an achievement of which Woodward in his *Expansion of the British Empire* says, 'It is possibly the most important service which Canada has rendered to the Empire that from her constitutional struggles arose that form of complete self-government under which the unity of the Empire is reconciled with the practical independence of the daughter communities'. It was a distinctively Canadian achievement, for the part of Lord Durham's brilliant report which proved to be workable was in line with the previous recommendation of the Canadian Reformers.

Both parties may claim a share of the credit for the next step in the constitutional progress of Canada—Confederation—which combined the advantages of national unity and Provincial self-government. Unity in the material and geographical sense was promoted by a bold and, as it has appeared to some, a rash and extravagant policy of railway building—if there was a fault there, it leaned to the patriotic side. Unity in the spiritual sense called for a broad and statesmanlike view of racial and religious differences. Here, with-

out withholding credit from some Conservative leaders, Liberals cherish the memory of Blake, Laurier, and others in the Federal field, and of Mowat and his colleagues in Ontario. And Canadians may justly pride themselves on the manner in which questions that might have led to violent conflicts among more excitable peoples have been handled in this country. Freedom from racial and religious enmity, in a country with a mixed population like ours, is essential to national unity.

National unity must be considered in framing the tariff. The economic point of view of the highly industrialized provinces of Ontario and Quebec differs from that of the Maritime Provinces on the one side and of the Prairies on the other. The protective tariff of 1879 was called the National Policy. We may disagree as to the aptness of the name as applied to that particular tariff. But our tariff to-day ought to be national in the true sense, having regard to the fact that the Canada of 1926 is a very different nation from the Canada of 1879. I believe that the Liberal policy of moderation is the right one. I stand for the maintenance of the National Railway system as a safeguard against monopoly on land, and I am opposed to monopoly in ocean transportation and in favour of any practical measure for curbing it.

The present situation at Ottawa demands very serious thought, and may call for a reconsideration of some of our old political ideas. Up to this time reformers have devoted their efforts to making Parliament a truly representative and democratic body. Hence successive measures for the widening of the franchise, culminating in woman suffrage. Hence also the demand for proportional representation or the transferable vote, and for Senate reform. All these spring from a liberal impulse. But to-day we are faced with another question. Having chosen your Parliament, how will you make it function and do the work for which it is intended?

Hitherto we have rested upon the theory that one party or the other shall dominate the House of Com-

mons with a working majority. It was a convenient plan, but its very convenience concealed some grave defects, to which attention has been called by Mr. John W. Dafoe, editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*. Men—and now women—are chosen to represent all parts of Canada; to present the views of each region, and out of these to mould a policy for the nation as a whole. It is a gathering from which we have a right to expect great results. But the results are not commensurate with the plan, or with the stately and costly edifice in which the legislators are housed. Even those who believe in the two party system must admit that much time is wasted in party strife and campaign speeches. The spirit is not always that of men aflame with national zeal and eagerly seeking to receive as well as to impart ideas which may benefit the nation. There is no use in blaming the men, because election after election does not substantially change the situation. It begins to look as if they were victims of a wrong system.

I am impressed in the same way as I consider the subject of Senate reform. Proposals to this end are of two kinds—looking to a change in the mode of selection or to restricting the power of the Senate to reject or amend measures passed by the House of Commons. I agree that the method of appointment by the government of the day is not the best, and that the voice of the people as expressed in the popular chamber ought to prevail. But the kind of Senate reform that is most urgently needed is that which will give the Senate the maximum of useful work to do, and enable it to co-operate with the House of Commons in national service. Too much stress is laid upon the function of the Senate as a mere brake. The House of Commons, as I judge from an observation of more than forty years, is not a body which, because of its radical tendencies, needs a restraining hand. I have never known a radical House of Commons. And besides, it seems to be a very clumsy device to have a measure framed in one body, go through the stages of first, second, and third readings and consideration in the committee, and then have all this work undone or partly undone in another chamber. Just as in the House of Commons the party system, carried to an extreme, tempts one party to obstruct the work of the other, so the relations between the Commons and the Senate tend to make one body undo the work of the other, or do nothing at all. As a new member of the Senate, I was told that it contained men of remarkable experience and capacity. Are these qualities utilized as they ought to be? The driver of an automobile does not consider the application of the brake, necessary though it may be, as affording the highest scope for his skill. Applying that illustration to legislation I should like to see the skill of my seniors in the Senate used in giving direction, and not merely in

bringing the machine to a standstill. In other words, I should like to see the Senate as a consultative, advisory, and deliberative body, assisting the House of Commons in coming to right conclusions. This question of the functioning of the two bodies is quite as important as that of the mode of choosing the members, which has hitherto been the main object of consideration by advocates of reform.

The present situation at Ottawa, far from being an unmixed evil, is beneficial in that it forces that reconsideration of political ideas to which I have referred. No one party having a majority, the only practical course is government by a combination of parties. In that I see nothing immoral or terrifying or tending to anarchy. Naturally I should have preferred a working Liberal majority, but the people decided otherwise, and we must obey the people's will and make the best possible use of the material they have provided, as the Mackenzie King Government has done. No constitutional principle is violated because a Government depends upon Progressive as well as Liberal support. We have had combinations of Liberals and Conservatives in Canada, and these have been regarded as patriotic. I much prefer a combination of Liberals and Progressives. There has been some talk of another general election; but there is no assurance that such an election would yield a materially different result. I hope the Liberals would do better. Conservatives may cherish the hope that they would do better. No use in wrangling over that. But what right have we to say to the electors that we are dissatisfied with their verdict, and that we shall insist upon holding election after election until they carry out our wishes instead of their own? We must reconcile ourselves to the possibility of a situation similar to the present arising again more than once. And then our constitutional traditions and conventions must give way to facts, and our practice must be modified and moulded to meet the facts. The British constitution has been modified in that way, and we need not be alarmed by the prospect of further changes.

THE CANADIAN FORUM is published by a committee of people interested in public affairs, science, art, and literature, and more particularly in the newer developments of those aspects of life in this country. The committee is composed of the following members:

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POPULAR SCIENCE—A CONTRADICTION IN TERMS

HERE has always been a marked antipathy amongst reputable scientists to what is generally spoken of as 'popular science', and to-day it is patent enough that science owes no thanks to its popularizers. We do not suggest that science has suffered in an economic sense or that its pursuit is likely to be less keen, but that under the seal of science an ever-increasing volume of false doctrine is accumulating. Could this be labelled 'false doctrine', people at large might give it a wide berth, but so insidiously has this pseudo-science leavened the whole body of what may be called scientific opinion that the latter is losing much of its prestige. True, this may not yet be generally noticed, but our best minds are not missing it, and it appears that we are at the beginning of a greater intellectual revolt against science than it has ever suffered. The church is gathering new hope, not that it ever had anything to fear from science, but it has been quite confounded for the last half century by the noisy success of the scientific revolution, and we find such men as the Rev. R. H. Murray, writing on *Science and Scientists of the Nineteenth Century* (Sheldon Press) with the main object of convincing scientists 'that there are every whit as many prepossessions in their department as in theology'. Many recent books have a similar direction of argument. Of a more sweeping kind is Mr. Sinclair Lewis' *Arrowsmith*, a well-earned if exaggerated satire on modern science.

Such are the pills which the scientist has to swallow to-day; and to-morrow he may have even more bitter ones, if one may judge by the bulk and character of present-day popular science literature.

We may first enquire if popular science is a possibility. There is very little scientific knowledge which cannot be expressed in terms simple enough for an average intelligence to grasp; but even when so expressed—and it appears to require a special kind of genius to succeed even in this respect—the second requirement, that such an achievement should be popular, is less easily fulfilled. Some months ago we reviewed in this column a book by Sir William Bragg, entitled *Concerning the Nature of Things*, which we regarded as an almost ideal example of what a popular science book should be. It was a story of the intimate structure of matter, told in simple terms with the most scrupulous regard for truth and without a scrap of sentiment. This book, although it had a wide circulation among a certain class of readers, was certainly not a 'best seller', for the scientific interests of the man

in the street soon burn low unless there is an emotional appeal to fan them.

Further, it is necessary to make clear the connotation of the term 'science'. What is science and in what way does a scientist differ from what we may call an 'ordinary man'? In the first place, everybody is sometimes a scientist, and, it may be added although it does not affect our argument, nobody is always a scientist. Nevertheless some people can more properly be called scientists than others, for the reason that some can keep prejudice out of contact with their logical faculties longer than others. We could deal with many problems more easily if we could only remember that science is knowledge which we possess and adhere to solely on the strength of our reason and logical faculty and not at all according to our will or desire. A great discovery, it is true, may be guessed at by inspiration, yet it will remain pure metaphysics until it has been subjected to and stood the test of logic.

It is at this point that difficulties creep into popular science. The mass of mankind seldom uses reason, largely no doubt because it entails controlled mental effort, and few men have acquired a logical habit of mind. So, even if the emotional appeal of a subject does attract the mass of people, it is certain that they are incapable of sustained scientific interest.

We are thus forced to the conclusion that popular science is a contradiction in terms, but faced with that demon of popular pseudo-science for which there appears to be an insatiable demand.

The spread of this popular pseudo-science within recent years has been alarming. It has not been confined to newspapers but has invaded all forms of literature; and, curiously, nobody has taken a serious stand against its pernicious invasion. But at last Mr. Langdon-Davies has entered the arena, and defends serious science with a force and authority for which we feel grateful. He calls his book *The New Age of Faith** because:—

The distinguishing feature of our age is that we take more things on faith than any other age has ever done. True, we do not all of us believe with the fervour of our ancestors in God or the Devil; for in the direction of orthodox religion, the sun seems to be nearing a very red western horizon; but in spite of this we believe in more things, for which our reason cannot account, than did any monk in a mediæval cloister.

And again:—

Men are to-day more than ever in danger of thinking that they use their reason; that they are guided and actuated by rational processes; that the days of blind faith and unsupported guesses are over, and that now society moves more and more towards scientific deliberateness and a spirit of "organized common-sense". Now the truth is that even the modern attitude towards science is irrational to a degree which it would be hard to overestimate.

And finally:—

Ninety-nine men out of every hundred approach science and its works in the same spirit and through the same gateway as their ancestors approached God and His.

**The New Age of Faith*, by John Langdon-Davies. (The Viking Press; pp. 255; \$2.50).

This is why we may call the twentieth century a new age of Faith.

Yet the title of Mr. Langdon-Davies' book gives one only a vague idea of the field which he has covered. His subject is difficult to systematize, but by a series of introductions to its different parts he has brought as much order as possible into its treatment; and, whatever the subject, he is always interesting and racy. Thus, after quoting a newspaper example of popular science describing an attempt to settle the 'wayward girl problem' from a study of the sex of bread molds, he says:—

Yet the generation which eats such mental pabulum gladly and without quaking about its mental digestion, goes to all lengths to sterilize, pasteurize and in general bowdlerize its milk, bacon, water, bread, lest an irrelevant germ play havoc with its corporeal stomach.

Mr. Langdon-Davies devotes the latter half of his book, which almost from the nature of its task is the poorer, to an attack on what he calls the 'heredity fiends' and the 'race fiends'. This material resolves itself to a large extent into the controversy of heredity versus environment.

Of course Mr. Langdon-Davies has little difficulty in showing the absurdity of such a statement,—and it is not an unfair or fantastic example—as 'it is nearly fifty times as advantageous to have a preacher for a father as it is to have an unskilled day-labourer', which means to say that the labourer is to this extent *biologically* inferior to the preacher; such a statement is merely a rationalization to explain class prejudice.

He makes the mental process clearer when writing of race prejudice thus:—

In the old days, for example, if an Englishman found that he had nothing in common and no sympathy with a Brahmin, he said that he had no use for niggers and left it at that, and most people forgave him his very human falling of race prejudice. But nowadays, thanks to the great advances of popular science, he is ashamed to leave his prejudice naked for all to see and seeks to cover it with a sort of scientific synthetic figleaf composed of words like dolichocephalic, brachycephalic, Nordic, miscegenation, and the like.

Or again, formerly we:—

invoked the dictates of religion in the interests of law and order and things as they are; exploited workers must remember that their duty was to be grateful and submissive in the "state of life to which it hath pleased God to call them". Nowadays chromosomes, genes, germplasm and dominant Mendelian characters do precisely the same work. Once more pseudo-science prepares a synthetic figleaf to hide the nakedness of class prejudice and the petty irrationality of the uneducated human mind.

Such a liberal use of quotation is necessary to convey the merits of such a book as *The New Age of Faith*, as a mere summary of its contents would de-vitalize it. But certainly Mr. Langdon-Davies has interesting, perhaps to some people startling, things to say for example about race superiority, evolution, eugenics, and other much discussed present-day problems. It is no injustice to the book to say that it marks no advance in thought, but the more widely it is read the saner will the public mind become on the relationship between science and society.

G. H.

POEMS BY EDWARD SAPIR

ADVICE TO A GIRL

Slip steel into your love;
Give grudgingly;
Let in your very passion
Hardness be.

Be not of those sweet ones
Who stand revealed,
But with a swift sword parry
And a shield.

Fear not the sharp thunder
Of a jest,
Lightning in the surcharged
Air is best.

These for your safety and
For my reproof;
There is ever a day coming
With ominous hoof

Charging in grievous storm,
Then were it best
To have your love with steel
Alloyed in jest.

MEMORY

Where the sea-waves wash the sand
There are your footsteps washed away,
Where wind cuts the rocks
Wind's blown your locks.

From the rocks to the sands and into
The tangled roads of the sea
A little from wave to wave
I seek to save.

There is nothing, there is nothing!
Go, any messenger with sea
To the sweet land again!
What then, what then?

So then for us a bottom-land,
The time of ripening corn,
And when the wind has died
At our enchanted side,

I take my flute again
And tell of how you closed
My words with lips on my lips tight
By day, by night.



A QUIET INLET, GEORGIAN BAY

BRUSH DRAWING

BY F. H. VARLEY

(From a portfolio of Canadian drawings
published by Rous & Mann)



JOAN OF ARC

JOAN OF ARC, MAID OF FRANCE, by Albert Bigelow Paine (Macmillans in Canada; 2 vols.; gravure illustrations; pp. xiv, 367, x, 427; \$9.00).

UNIQUE and incredible adventure! A young peasant girl from Lorraine, driven to action by the humiliation and woes of her country, convinces its rulers of her divine mission, rallies it from its paralysis, infuses her own high moral energy into its armies, drives back the enemy, restores the monarch to his throne, is burned at the stake as a heretic and a witch, is vindicated by her own generation, and, after five centuries, is canonized. The actual span of her life was nineteen years, of her activity, trial, and death, two years. Her influence is unmeasured.

What inspired a rustic maid to assume the rôle of saviour of her country? What talents enabled an illiterate peasant-girl to carry out such a gigantic programme? What heroic virtue is this that by its energy, purity, devotion, selflessness lifts a girl before her twentieth year above the rank of the world's conquerors into that of its saviours and accepts for her a saviour's reward? What was the type of social organization that could employ her only to turn against her and slay her? Such are the questions that her biographer must face and answer.

There was no deceit in Joan. She was absolutely free from guile. She cast no shadow of personal ambition. This is her mystery, that she had faith when all hope elsewhere in France was dead. Whatever else she may have been, she was the moral factor at the close of the struggle between France and England, bringing unexpected victory to France. This is her genius, that she restored moral values and thereby achieved what specialists had given up in despair. She is the unknown quantity, the personal equation, or whatever that spiritual force may be called which emerges from the depths for the salvation of humanity when scientific contraptions have demonstrated their impotence. She is one of those beings that surpass the normal stature and disconcert by their spiritual superiority. In them the common law is suspended. They exhibit for the moment a huge disproportion between cause and effect. Joan's successes were out of all harmony with her preparation and apparent equipment, her sufferings out of all harmony with the conduct of her life. Thus she attains the heroic. The

nation, the race is typified in her. She is the ideal tragic character.

Joan's mystery lies in her implicit obedience to an imperious conscience which spoke to her as voices from the invisible universe. Her genius is a supreme commonsense made heroic and pure. Her biography will consist then in the depiction of a play of forces, not in the recording of facts, in the weighing of the forces that were Joan against the forces that constituted the society she invaded and guided and by which she miserably perished.

Biographers bewail the meagreness of material for Joan's life. This material is certainly slight. But it is sufficient. It is much more abundant than in the case of Socrates or Christ. Joan, as a force, is to be measured by the resistance which she meets. She is not to be described in terms of herself. Her greatness lies in the measure of others' weakness. To understand the nature of her impact, one must understand the composition of the society in which she moved. Anatole France well understood this and his monumental biography is an incomparable description of Joan's times. Nevertheless it fails because Joan is reduced to nothingness. For him Joan scarcely exists. No arrangement of the superficial, individual facts of life will ever furnish an adequate biography of a strong personality. To comprehend Napoleon or Cromwell, we must understand the suppleness and confusion of the forces that begat them and the concatenation of events with which they worked. So with Joan. The only recorded facts in her case are the minutes of her trial. The judges published this record for their own vindication. A study of her trial, then, is largely a study of the judges and only indirectly a study of Joan, and the view we get of her is that of a pathetic victim of casuistry, of a woman of action whose mind is too direct and simple to comprehend the web-spinning, hair-splitting activities of her tormentors. She cannot grasp the situation nor the malignity of men because life for her is essentially simple and pure.

Joan vies with the greatest names in history as a subject for biographers. The number of these is legion. Up to the time of her canonization (1920), the two most important stories of her life in English were those by Mark Twain and Andrew Lang. Both of these are thoroughly romantic. Anatole France stifles her by her environment. These two lift her completely out of her environment instead of placing her in it. During the recent war, Joan became the patron saint of the *poilu*. Her subsequent canonization brought her to the attention of the world. Bernard Shaw put her on the stage in the most remarkable likeness of her that we possess in English. But Shaw's Joan, in spite of his

protests, is a feminist in nineteenth century dress, whilst the real Joan is a feminist in fifteenth century attire. Her latest biography is the one that is before us.

Mr. Paine's story is presented in two very attractive volumes, beautifully printed on fine paper, and illustrated with numerous very handsome photographs. The publishers have done their share to make the book a success. I have detected very few typographical errors in the strictly English portion of the text.

When one comes to the biography itself, Mr. Paine's attitude is as sentimental as that of Mark Twain or Andrew Lang, to both of whom he is greatly indebted. He does not exhibit quite as much infatuation as Mark Twain, and his pictures gain in strength accordingly. He has not Andrew Lang's task of demolishing another biographer so that his narrative is simpler, less argumentative. Mr. Paine feels the need of a background, but, lacking the learning of Anatole France or Andrew Lang, he seeks to fill it in by an abundant use of topographical details, the natural complement of his sentimental conception. His method is the method of journalism. He wants to 'put over' a story and he succeeds, which is saying much. His approach is profoundly reverent. His language is becomingly simple and straightforward when it is his own language. The matter is arranged in 'books' which correspond to the various stages into which the heroine's career naturally falls. The chapters are short and crisp so that the reader's road is greatly eased. His descriptions are vivid. He sees the Maid with his physical eyes and succeeds in evoking this physical image before his reader. To this extent he has made an altogether readable book.

It is, however, a book for the superficial reader. To understand Joan of Arc we must see her with our spiritual eyes. It is not enough to have motored over the probable routes of Joan's painful marches. A tourist's knowledge, with ever so much goodwill, is poor equipment. The tourist's contribution is another kink in the legend, not a necessary link in the truth. Joan of Arc in an automobile is a very twentieth-century person. She is five centuries behind her time. She must be restored to her own element. For this the unaided imagination is not adequate. After Quicherat and Champion, the documents in the case are available to every man. Many of them have been translated, and well translated, into English by Mr. Douglas Murray. But we need more than documents. We need the middle ages and its institutions—Feudalism, Scholasticism, the Church. We must be brought into touch with the mediæval mind, with its ideas on kingship, on country, on heresy and witchcraft, on warfare and

the punishment of crime. Without such knowledge and the ability to impart it, no biographer is equal to his task.

Since Mr. Paine's is not a book for scholars, despite a certain desire to be deemed erudite, we will pass over a rather indiscriminating use of authorities, over a patronizing air towards the journalistic methods of Michelet, towards Quicherat (who 'only collected the material', but without whose incomparable work, in five volumes, no recent biography would be in existence), and over Mr. Paine's journalistic and effective method of arranging his trial material in dialogue form. We do not wish to be hyper-critical. But the nature of the subject, and the pretensions of the author, justify us in demanding accuracy. He follows closely the facts of his record, but he does not always understand the language of his record. Ordinarily, as he tells his own story in his own words, the narrative moves along smoothly, but it would be a superficial reader indeed who would be so absorbed by the story as not to be disturbed by Mr. Paine's frequent looseness in the use of the English language. Why use 'healthy' for 'wholesome' (translating *salutaire*); 'informations' for 'inquiries' or 'evidence'; 'Faculty of Decree', which now means nothing at all and only troubles the reader, for 'Faculty of Law'? A hundred times the word 'process' is used for 'trial'. 'Could' is used for 'may' or 'might' as often at least as there are pages in the book. How are we to accept the following: 'Erard rose to the heights of peroration', or 'He will not dare to say to the contrary of what I have told you of it'. These are samples of what is met with constantly in both volumes, but especially in the second.

If Mr. Paine had dropped all pretentiousness and told the story of the Maid in his own words, the second volume might have been not worse than the first, or rather there would probably have been no second volume. A good one-volume life might have filled the gap between Twain and Lang which still remains unfilled.

J. S. W.

THE OLD MEN CHALLENGE YOUTH

PROFITS, by W. T. Foster and W. Catchings (Houghton Mifflin; pp. xxii, 465; \$4.00);

AMERICAN ECONOMIC LIFE AND THE MEANS OF ITS IMPROVEMENT, by R. G. Tugwell, T. Munco and R. E. Stryker (McLeod; pp. xiv, 633; \$4.50).

AN important hangover from the war is the disposition among middle-aged and elderly writers to challenge youth to take up the tasks of reforming society and of remedying evils which to these challengers had been overwhelming. This disposition is possibly the result of a recognition of failure and possibly a belated apology for the

calamity which fell on the shoulders of this generation's youth, and for which these older people feel in some way responsible. But these writers have never quite forgotten their position, which has become theirs by virtue of years, and these challenges are in most cases accompanied by suggestions as to the manner in which the work should be done. Indeed most schemes of reform are now put before the public and carried out because in some way or other we must not break the faith we are claimed to have made with the originators. But fortunately youth is sceptical and a feeling has arisen that schemes of reform which carry these challenges need investigation. The 'politicians', the 'social reformers', the 'uplifters', and their ilk have overworked this item of their stock in trade. The reader of these books is left in that state of scepticism. Both end with challenges to youth.

In *Profits* the authors have worked out another theory of business cycles. They believe that this phenomenon is a result of the uneven flow of money from consumers to producers. If money was returned to the hands of consumers as rapidly as it flows from consumers to producers we should have no business cycle. The theory in reality stresses one phase of Professor Mitchell's eclectic theory of business cycles. The authors have offered five thousand dollars for the best adverse criticism to insure that the book will be read. Too much work remains to be done on the subject of business cycles to warrant a critical review of this theory. Youth would, however, be well advised not to accept the theory too seriously.

The other volume is the result of the work of three authors in particular and of several others in general. It represents the results of attempts to work out a course for the freshmen of Columbia University on what is called Contemporary Civilization. Roughly, the volume discusses the production and distribution of goods in modern industry, with special relation to the United States. The work is a distinct advance on the average text written for college freshmen in that it stresses the technological side of production and narrows the pecuniary side to a more reasonable proportion. In reality it represents a first attempt to introduce the work of Mr. Veblen to beginning students of economics. But alas, unfortunately there is a challenge and there are suggestions as to how economic organization should be improved from the standpoint of the standards of the authors. The rôle of the medicine man in economics is still an important one. Perhaps some day an extended course in introductory economic science which has no problems for the future generation will be planned, but not just yet. The breach between economics and re-

ligion is not sufficiently wide as yet to warrant the appearance of works of this character which can be safely placed in the hands of youthful freshmen.

HISTORY

THE SELBORNE MEMORANDUM, edited by Basil Williams (Oxford; pp. xxvii, 185; \$2.25).

PROFESSOR BASIL WILLIAMS, whose recent departure from McGill University to succeed Sir Richard Lodge at Edinburgh means a great loss to Canadian historical circles, has performed an excellent work in this careful edition of what is known as the *Selborne Memorandum*. This paper is to South African history what Durham's *Report* is to Canadian, and it takes its place with the latter among the great constructive state papers of modern times. Selborne, like Durham, was fortunate in the group of young men who behind the scenes helped in formulating the memorandum, and their insight, zeal, faith, and learning are evident in every paragraph and section of the document in its final form. On the other hand, it owed, like Durham's *Report*, its importance to the fact that it was fathered by a man of outstanding influence at the moment, who gave to it political significance and to whom must go the credit of the important and far-reaching results which flowed from it—nothing less than the Union of South Africa. It is now possible for all students of Imperial history to begin the study of the rise and development of this Dominion with valid documents in their hands. Professor A. P. Newton has provided them with two excellent volumes of documents, Professor Williams with the pivotal *Memorandum*, Mr. Eybers with a first-class selection of constitutional documents. In addition, there is Professor Williams' valuable life of Cecil Rhodes. What we need now is a comprehensive study of South African constitutional history as a whole. Mr. Williams' admirable contributions point to him as the historian most capable of writing such a work in the spirit of scientific objectivity which it emphatically demands. We congratulate him on his most recent addition to South African historical literature, in which he has placed all students under severe obligations. We hope that his scholarship, added to his personal knowledge of South Africa and South Africans, will one day combine in the authoritative work which is still missing in the history of the British Commonwealth.

EUROPE OVERSEAS, by James A. Williamson (Oxford; pp. 144; 75c).

This is one of the series of *The World's Manuals* which attempts briefly to present for general readers the salient aspects of the subjects treated. The author endeavours to describe the

most vital movement of modern history, the expansion of European civilization and influence into the continents beyond Europe. His work is a decided success. He has carefully kept to the broad highway of history, although he must at times have been sorely tempted to wander into some of its by-paths. The events which shaped the contact between Europe and the territories beyond Europe, from Marco Polo to the settlement after the great war, are here placed in a well proportioned perspective, and the narrative preserves much of the intrinsic interest of the theme.

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND, by Hillaire Belloc; Vol. I. to 1066 (Methuen; pp. xi, 373; 15/-).

It is a great pity that Mr. Belloc never underwent severe discipline in historical science, as undoubtedly, had he done so, he would have acquired distinction if not fame as an historian. He writes well, with power in narrative, a fine sense of atmosphere and excellent literary quality. Unfortunately his lack of proper training vitiates his latest historical work. In a non-technical review it is impossible to go into details, and the reader must be referred to expert criticism. We regret, however, that we cannot whole-heartedly recommend his book. It emphasizes Roman influences at the expense of Anglo-Saxon or other in pre-Norman English history to the apparent neglect of a vast body of historical, archeological, sociological, philological, and legal scholarship. Almost every page needs careful reading in relation to other opinions which cannot lightly be neglected. Mr. Belloc writes history with preconceived ideas and theories in his mind, and in so far as he does so he ceases to command respect as an authority. His book is only safe in the hands of experts, and it may have the result of leading to the production of a careful synthetic view of the period. If it does, it will at least have fulfilled one good function.

CANADIAN HISTORY: A SYLLABUS AND GUIDE TO READING, by R. G. Trotter (Macmillans in Canada; pp. xiii, 162; \$1.00).

Professor R. G. Trotter of Queen's University is already well known for his contributions to Canadian history. In his latest work he has conferred a signal service. If the professional teacher uses this book with sincerity and wisdom, he will find his horizon widened, his imagination stirred, his knowledge broadened. If he does not—he has missed his vocation. The general reader, too, will find it extremely useful. Mr. Trotter, of course, takes no account of unpublished manuscript material, nor are his lists of published books, etc., by any means complete. He has aimed at a working manual. In this connection we would anticipate adverse crit-

icism. Someone may be prone to dismiss the book as useless, because it may not contain some important works in a field in which he is, perhaps temporarily, interested. Such a criticism would be unjust. Mr. Trotter has had a distinct purpose and he has achieved it in a remarkable degree. We confidently recommend his book to all those who guide the earliest steps of our students in Canadian history—may they learn something of its wide vision, its romantic emphasis, its atmospheric demands, and its excellent organization.

DISCUSSING CAESAR

CAPTAINS AND KINGS, by André Maurois (The Bodley Head; pp. 157; 5/-).

JEAN PIERREFEU'S book, *Plutarch Lied*, seems to have inspired this defence of the generals, and those among us who were sceptical of their genius in the late war will be made to reconsider some of our estimates on reading what M. Maurois has to say of such figures as Joffre and Pétain. But our author does not stop there; he goes deeper and considers the age-old question of leadership, the relative merits of the aristocratic and democratic systems—the alternative of deputies or dictators that is so exercising his country to-day, even after a century and a half of experience of both. The book consists of three dialogues between a professor of philosophy and his ex-pupil, a lieutenant, back on leave from Morocco; and no one who read the conversations in *The Silence of Colonel Bramble* need be told that the argument has the charm that blended wit and good temper alone can give. But in this case the subject has called up all the resources of a fine and sinewy mind, and we remember that this André Maurois is the man who won the *Prix d'honneur* for Philosophy in his youth against the flower of the Lycées of France. The argument ranges over all history, and the man of action, who believes that a people will respond to a Caesar as it never will to a Parliament, stoutly withstands the attacks of the philosopher whose democratic idealism repudiates such a humiliating conception of humanity. Honours are even: 'You are an aristocrat, as I am a Radical, by temperament and by taste', concludes the Professor, 'that is irremediable; besides, it needs all sorts to make a world. I hope the day will never come when I shall see you, in steel helmet, ready to charge as I look down from the barricade to which my political passions, which are ardent, will have led me'. After all, the French are a fine people. M. Maurois always renews in us our admiration for their unique qualities of mind, and heart, too.

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THREE BIOGRAPHIES

JAMES NICHOLSON RICHARDSON OF BESSBROOK, by Charlotte F. Smith (Longman; pp. ix., 243; \$5.50); \$5.50);

SIR THOMAS MORE, by G. R. Potter (Leonard Parsons; pp. 188; \$1.25);

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM, by L. R. Salter (Leonard Parsons; pp. 189; \$1.25).

IRISH linen—to which Mr. Conrad Gill of the University of Birmingham has recently devoted a first-class book—is a world-famous industry whose history and structure are well known to all economic students. Less, however, has been written about its 'captains' and 'princes'. Perhaps this is just as well. Anyone who knows 'the linen towns' knows that they are not outstanding in human and personal qualities. Exception can emphatically be made in favour of the distinguished Quaker family—the Richardsons of Moyallon, Co. Down, and of Bessbrook, Co. Armagh. Mrs. C. Fell Smith's volume will be appreciated wherever the virtues of the Quakers are known. The name and qualities of J. N. Richardson were far wider than his business, his home, his political and social backgrounds. We welcome a record of sterling worth, high character, business morality, and personal discipline which are all too rare to-day. Mrs. Smith can at least congratulate herself on a biography which has stirred many memories in the heart of a reviewer who knew members of the Richardson family in his boyhood. It will, in addition, appeal to all who can appreciate simplicity, unmixing motives, and honest convictions. We may not think that J. N. Richardson was a man of wide vision or of progressive thought: but it is something to have cultivated and maintained his family and religious traditions in a highly industrialized and monotonously materialized community.

Mr. G. R. Potter's *Sir Thomas More* is a bright and readable volume. He is evidently well read in the literature of his subject and he writes with caution, distinction, and sometimes with charm. We recommend his little book to beginners in Tudor history and literature.

Mr. F. R. Salter's *Sir Thomas Gresham*, in the same series, is not so successful. The fault lies not so much with the author as with the subject. Gresham was merely a cog in the Tudor machine, and had little of outstanding ability. Nor did he leave a profound influence on history. Indeed, we fear that the Roadmaker Series is liable to become an excuse for book-making. None of the volumes have so far reached the standard which it set in *Queen Elizabeth*, to which we have already drawn most favourable attention.

A DEBONAIR DIARIST

THE DIARY OF A YOUNG LADY OF FASHION IN THE YEAR 1764-1765; Being the Grand Tour of Miss Cleone Knox. Edited by her kinsman Alexander Blacker Kerr (Nelson; pp. vii, 245; \$2.00).

WHEN young Mr. Ancaster, of Castle Ancaster, Co. Down, came to grief in a typical rash endeavour to say good-night to Miss Cleone Knox by climbing the ivy to her window, he not only spoiled his crimson plush suit but came near to ruining his chances of future happiness; for the lady's father was so incensed by the incident that he determined to take her travelling to England and thence on a Grand Tour of the Continent. The lady, be it said, was spirited in her opposition, declaring that love for her handsome though impoverished suitor forbade her to leave her native soil, but:—

This avowal threw my father into a Perfect Fury. He became completely scarlet in the face and broke into a string of oaths committing both me and Mr. A., whom he described as a Damned Profligate, to utter perdition. He appealed to Highest Heaven to know why he had been cursed with such a frail, foolish, insolent, wilful slut as a daughter, asked if I was set on dragging my good name and honour in the dust, and finally assured me that he would beat me Black and Blue if I ever dared mention Mr. A. again in his hearing.

So, between her father and her brother Ned, the unhappy girl was carried off in the family coach. But hers was a resilient as well as a stubborn spirit, and her diary is a most lively record of life and travel in the eighteenth century. Cleone was a child of her age in everything but her constancy, and while retaining her own virtue had no illusions as to that of the society she adorned. Indeed, she is so frank as to admit that she is none too sure whether Mr. A.'s intentions are quite honourable, for, says she, 'the Ancasters are commonly supposed to have added to the population of Down more than any other family in the county'. But she had been ready to elope with him nevertheless, for she was 'terribly caught by the Handsome W:etch'.

After visiting her sister in Derbyshire, where her experience of county society and English beaux makes her draw comparisons very favourable to Co. Down and Mr. A., Cleone reaches London and takes her place in the world of fashion, which offered parallels in character if not in manner to that of to-day, as entries like the following show:—

Very Gay Party with Lady T. She is the most Vivacious woman imaginable. Said to-day apropos of the new Gentry, 'Lud! I dare not spit out of the window now for fear of spitting on an Earl,' which made us all scream.

At Bath she finds that 'old gentlemen abound . . . and are never Weary of informing one how marvelously Refined and Decorous the Society was in the Golden Days of Beau Nash, "before, ma'am, all these Damned tradesmen and negro-drivers made it all so

common." At Bath, too, she was much taken by an advertisement in a newspaper: 'Black Boy for sale, Docile and obedient. Answers to the name of Toby.' Her father forbade her to add this ornament to their retinue, but she must have felt somewhat compensated later when, on leaving Paris for Switzerland, she was able to make this entry in her diary: 'November 27th. Ned has purchased a Genteel little Mouse-coloured Donkey, who is to run behind our Coach.'

We are hardly surprised to learn that the Parisians of 1764 were found disappointing by a lady of such heart as Miss Knox, who shrewdly records that 'these Parisians are monstrously Selfish and Unfeeling beneath their masks of Courtesy and wit'. Besides, 'the Gentlemen are stiff and Philosophical. The Ladies are all Savante or pretend to be'; and before our diarist left Paris behind her she had reason to endorse her worthy parent's verdict that he was 'prepared to wager that these Intellectual Airs are but a superficial covering for the National Licentiousness'. Her only regret was that she must part from a Madame de B., a really charming lady of well over sixty years who yet had 'all the vivacity and fascination of a young woman', and who gave as the secret of her good looks the fact that all her life she had been loved and all her life she had eaten vegetables.

Switzerland is found delightfully sweet and clean in contrast to France, but one gathers that Miss Knox was not unready for a change by the time the family coach set out for Italy. If she was a little ennuied with the good Switzers and the Nature-worshipping English colony of Lausanne, Venice was admirably adapted to make her forget both, and her impression of its manners and modes is best conveyed by the fact that the day after she had come to the conclusion that she and her maid were the only virtuous women in the city, her maid was seduced by her gondolier. But perhaps the description of a visit to a convent provides the most curious picture of the day:—

Ned attired himself sumptuously in gold brocade, for he had heard that the nuns were excessively pretty, and have lovers. The convent parlour full of guests of high degree. The Nuns, many young and captivating, seated behind a thin grille, wearing low dresses and jewels. Ned plainly caught by one of them, a creature with green eyes and blonde curls, who returned his *doux yeux* lavishly.

Later, the susceptible Ned causes a great to-do by running off with this same nun and being followed and laid by the heels by her relatives:—

What seems to be so strange in this affair [writes his sister] is that if Ned had merely continued to be the lover of this Nun all would have been well, for they are permitted to carry on intrigues and lead lives of great immorality; but to attempt to become her lawful husband was, it seems, an Unpardonable Sin, and thus poor Ned is to suffer for the first Respectable thing I have ever known him do!

However, the affair is arranged satisfactorily with the help of the Ambassador and money, and is immediately overshadowed by the remarkable event that

marks the end of the diary: 'Stupendous Discovery! Mr. A. is in Venice.'

It is pleasant to read in an epilogue by the editor that, owing to a correspondence still preserved by the Knox family, it is known that Cleone eloped with her faithful Mr. A. a few days later; was married to him in Geneva; and returning to Ireland was ultimately forgiven by her father after she had presented him with two lusty grandsons. The fact that this diverting record has already had its authenticity questioned by students of the eighteenth century does not lessen its charm. Fiction it may be, but it is none the less an authentic picture of the time, and we like to feel that in that drearily licentious period there was to be met here and there a young lady of fashion who might have written a much similar record—although, since keeping a diary was probably as rare an accomplishment for a lady of that day as keeping her innocence, it may be too much to believe that they would ever both be found in one charming person.

NOVELS IN BRIEF

JERICO SANDS, by Mary Borden (Macmillans in Canada; pp. 313; \$2.50).*

THIS is essentially a simple story of disaster. When Priscilla Brampton, a nice, stupid, warm-blooded English girl who rides straight and likes dogs, marries the pietistic Simon Birch, rector and squire of Creech, because he is good and kind, we expect the worst; and when the hard-riding Crab Willing comes home to Jericho Sands of course it happens. Simon, poor devil, already distracted by the conflict between his mystic love of God and his earthly passion for his wife, repudiates the solution of divorce and keeps baiting the unhappy Priscilla like a hound of Heaven the while he is himself tormented by all the pups of Hell. Death and insanity result. One admires the audacity of the American authoress who, after a few years in England, endeavours to reveal the psychology of the English ruling class, and, not content with that, writes her story in the first person—the first and last parts as a testy old bachelor and the central part as the demented Simon himself. It is an heroic assault on the impossible; but passages in Simon's record are marked by unusual sympathy and penetration. Altogether a not uninteresting novel.

THE PEASANTS, by Ladislav Reymont (Macmillans in Canada; 4 Vols.; \$2.50 per volume).

It is not likely that this long novel will find a permanent place among the great European novels, but it has nevertheless a character of its own which will win a number of discriminating readers. For four long volumes the scene is one; we never move more than a mile or two along the road from Boryna's home. The

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mood, too, is almost unchanging, always within easy call of tragedy and with never a hint of humour or pathos. Not one of the characters can see beyond the narrow circle of the village life, yet the prevailing temper is not mean, because it is always exalted by a four-fold spiritual chord, the inevitable waiting upon nature for sustenance, the devout following of the Church's seasons, the ever-recurring sense of mystery before birth and death, and the deep bond of sympathy which enables each to feel for all. The book will repay, in its own quite unique way, the patient reader who is looking for no particular excitement of plot and who is content to wait quietly on the doings and sufferings of this strange people.

PLAYS

BILL PORTER, A DRAMA OF O. HENRY IN PRISON, by Upton Sinclair (Sinclair, Pasadena; pp. 58; 50c);

SINGING JAILBIRDS, by Upton Sinclair (Sinclair, Pasadena; pp. 95; 25c).

HERE are two plays dealing with certain aspects of prison life in the United States, impressionistic in form, boisterously melodramatic at times, but also rich in texture and full of sincerity and the broadest human sympathies. In both there is the passionate resentment of the humanitarian towards a society which maims, tortures, and degrades its children in the name of Law and Justice. In *Bill Porter*, the whimsical, sensitive artist weaves his bright-tinted little romances to the accompaniment of groans from the punishment cell under his feet; drugged with alcohol from the dispensary shelves, he tries to shut out the crude realism which beats upon his consciousness from all sides. The 'Wobly' hero of the *Singing Jailbirds* is made of sterner material. His spirit flames with revolt, he neither asks nor receives quarter, and in the face of all authority he nails to the wall his I. W. W. preamble, 'We are forming the new society within the shell of the old'. These two plays are religious tracts, but it is religion in the rough, stripped to the shirt-sleeves, transfused with pain and sweat.

WRITING THE ONE-ACT PLAY, by Harold N. Hillebrand (Macmillans in Canada; pp. 243; \$2.00).

Although Professor Hillebrand has undertaken to outline a number of rules and definitions which, if properly applied, will help a young dramatist to turn out a short play, he places emphasis upon the important fact that he cannot supply the most essential thing in play-writing. The mechanics are important, but the writer must have something in himself to express. The first requirement is dramatic material which has been accumulated by means of observation. When a teacher starts on such a sound foundation—and such a humble one, too, for it is modest of a teacher to admit that he cannot

teach everything—he wins your confidence at once. No more helpful book on writing a one-act play has been written. It deals briefly and lucidly with all aspects of this particular form of dramatic technique, beginning with the development of the theme or idea, going on to the problems of construction, and then supplying hints regarding characterization and dialogue.

ONE IMPRESSION OF AMERICA

WEST, by Bryher (Nelson; pp. 191; \$1.25).

EUROPEAN impressions of America are always avidly read by at least the Americans. Even we, whose place in the sun of the British Empire renders us almost indifferent to Continental spasms of horror and enthusiasm, are faintly interested in seeing ourselves as in a mirror darkly. Besides, it is vastly refreshing to be reminded in the midst of our sophisticated pursuits that behind us loom illimitable stretches of primeval forest, desert, and glacier, and that we are, under our tweeds, a young and savage race.

Bryher, nauseated with the staleness and putridity of England in war-time, dreams of an America, wild and new like the morning—of Americans saying things in a new way, a place without a past, of woods filled with flowers, a waste of corn, of sun-burned girls with poppies for a mouth and sun-shot cornflower eyes. Alas! New York and the Greenwich Village poets who yearn for the greenness of Oxford lawns, the mists, Jane Austen's countryside, the street-cries of Bloomsbury, muffins, and the *Spectator*.

California—a brilliant land of the soft South—merely Victorian England grafted onto the cheap end of Nice, costing money, giving nothing—motors, dust, advertisements, cinemas. Only the vast unconscious spaces of Arizona, the barbaric upfling of the sky-scraper, come out scatheless. But East who has come West, having the philosophy of adventure can say at the close: 'It was not what one expected, but it was worth the coming'. So is the book worth the reading. The cutting and slashing is superficial, occasionally almost vicious, but clever and provocative, and much may be forgiven the disillusioned.

V. P.

SHORT NOTICES

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF RUSSIA, by James Mavor (J. M. Dent & Sons; 2 vols; pp. xxxv, 614; xxii, 630; \$10.00);

NIAGARA IN POLITICS, by James Mavor (E. P. Dutton & Co.; pp. 255; \$2.00).

THE two volumes of an economic history of Russia are so well known by students of economics that an extended review of this second edition would be superfluous. Dispassionate and

judicial throughout, the work presents an unequalled study of Russia from the eighth century to the time of the last revolution. The survey of the growth and decay of serfdom is particularly comprehensive.

To turn from Russia to *Niagara in Politics* is like exchanging the serene atmosphere of a supreme court for the heat and dust of an election meeting. The cool detachment of the unbiased historian is gone, and in its place is the special pleading of a keen partisan. The opponents of all forms of collectivism will find in this work much ammunition for their heavy batteries, and in the United States and more distant countries it will undoubtedly be quoted with satisfaction by the exponents of laissez-faire. In Ontario, where the public knows something of the work of the Hydro-Electric System, it will be less effective.

CO-OPERATION AT HOME AND ABROAD, by C. R. Fay (P. S. King; pp. xvi, 481; 15/-).

A third edition of a standard work on co-operation brought up to date by the addition of a supplement dealing with agricultural co-operation in the Canadian West. The volume in its present form contains a comprehensive study of every aspect of this branch of economics.

THE GENEVA PROTOCOL, by P. J. Noel Barker (P. S. King & Son; pp. 228).

This is a learned and, on the whole, an objective study. Professor Barker examines the Protocol and considers it a logical outcome of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Protocol idea is still alive, and this book will be of value, not only to students of politics, but to all who are looking forward past the clouds of 1914-18.



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**THE GRAPHIC PUBLISHERS
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THE recent death of Henry Miller removes one of the last and the most dauntless of the vanishing group of actor-managers. Although he had threatened on more than one occasion to retire from the stage, because of a peculiar unfriendliness in certain quarters towards his later efforts, he died in harness. A week before his death, he had to dismiss the audience assembled to see his final production, as he was forced to admit at the last moment that he was too ill to go on. It was regrettable that a man who was always a dignified figure in the theatre should have encountered as many disappointments in the autumn of his career as Henry Miller.

There was a time when everybody who wrote about the theatre considered it the proper thing to rail against the actor-manager. If those critics were alive to-day, they would probably admit that there can be worse influences in the playhouse than the actors who manage their own productions. The common charge against them was that they catered entirely to their own vanity, and cared nothing about the higher things of the drama. Now we can realize that their standards were as high above those of the average modern showman, who judges everything by box-office results, as the heavens are above the earth. They may have liked the spotlight, but they wanted the spotlight to fall on a man who was an honoured worker in an admired profession.

Henry Miller was not a great actor. He contributed no stage portrait to the gallery of famous characterizations. But he always remembered the dignity of the theatre, and he never did an unworthy play to shock the well-bred public and amuse the sensation hunters. He invariably surrounded himself with the best available talent, and not infrequently his support eclipsed him, for he was apparently untroubled by that common vice of stars, jealousy of the lesser actors. During the years of his association, first with Margaret Anglin and later with Blanche Bates, the honours of the performance invariably went to the distaff side of his cast, but that worried him, seemingly, not at all. He will be longest remembered as the producer of *The Great Divide*, a much over-rated play that American theatrical writers ranked for many years as their most important serious drama, probably because there was nothing much in sight to be proud of. My own most pleasurable memory of Henry Miller will always be connected with *Her Husband's Wife*, a frail little comedy, made unforgettable by the acting of that fascinating comedienne, Laura Hope Crews.

The New York theatrical writers of the younger generation—most of them worshippers at the shrine

of sensationalism—have contracted a habit of blowing disdainfully upon the older actors who were admired twenty odd years ago. That is what made Henry Miller's recent seasons a little tragic. He resented having sincere efforts dismissed with a superior 'pooh, pooh.' He said so, and talked of retirement, but the lure of the green-room held him to the end.

Like all actor-managers, Henry Miller looked upon the theatre as an international institution, not as a show shop for one wealthy city. When he found a successful play, he felt that it was his duty to carry it to the drama-loving public everywhere. That was the attitude of the leading players of his generation, but only a few actors who hold that ideal are still before the public. If the youngsters who have become favourites on Broadway in recent years had some such conception of their relation to their art, we should not hear the talk, so common at the present time, about the collapse of the drama in the provinces.

'The road is a grave-yard!' exclaim the young writers of New York. 'What is wrong with the road?'

To which one may reply: The road is suffering because the men like Henry Miller, who gave people confidence that they could go to the theatre without being in danger of sitting through a tenth-rate performance, are becoming fewer and fewer. If the best actors neglect the provinces, the provinces beg leave to neglect the worst actors.

Henry Miller's last big success was *The Famous Mrs Fair*, by James Forbes, in which he made his final appearance in this country. He has occasionally been included in the ranks of Canadian actors, but that is rather a far-fetched claim. He was a native of England, but became a thoroughly American type of actor. He lived in Toronto for some time as a youth, and in a Toronto theatre he made his first professional appearance in a juvenile rôle. But we cannot claim that Canada had any influence upon his development or his career.

Now the final curtain has fallen on an actor who never forgot that his chosen profession was more than a money-making one. His influence in the American theatre was healthy from beginning to end. He treated acting as an art, and the drama as something more than the raw material out of which to make profitable entertainment for morons. He gave nothing to the theatre for which he had to apologize, and much that added to its prestige. The American theatre grows visibly poorer as such men vanish, one by one.

FRED JACOB.

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TRADE AND INDUSTRY

THE BUDGET

BY G. E. JACKSON

PARLIAMENT and the press will be filled for many weeks to come with the pros and cons of Mr. Robb's budget innovations; and it is to be feared that, as usual, political considerations will predominate over economic in the discussion. It is not proposed here to discuss the budget from a political standpoint, but only to treat in a very general manner its possible economic reactions.

It is, in any case, a striking budget, which may be regarded in time to come as a landmark in the history of Canadian finance. Its most important features are the revision of the income tax schedule and the reduction in the tariff on automobiles.

Mr. Robb was fortunate in presenting the House with a very satisfactory statement. In a year of trade recovery his revenue had expanded so as to leave him a handsome surplus to play with. His method of commending the statement was no less original than sound. As he rightly maintains, no Government has the right to monopolize the credit for the results of a good financial year, and no Opposition has the right to hold the Government wholly responsible for the results of a bad financial year. Whichever party had been in power during the last twelve months, the financial result would no doubt have been satisfactory. Whichever party had been in power during the preceding twelve months the financial result would equally certainly have been unsatisfactory. No more than a private business can the Finance Department escape the consequence of good or bad trade; and the conditions determining the state of trade are so complex and far-reaching that as a result it is ridiculous to pin responsibility for the state of trade upon the shoulders of the government in power. To do this (and it is the stock-in-trade of politicians) is to reduce parliament to the status of a monkey-house.

There can be comparatively little controversy regarding Mr. Robb's income-tax proposals. He has given a much-needed relief to the man with a small salary, and his effort to limit the possibilities of legalized income-tax evasion is entirely commendable. There is no more despicable example of bad citizenship than the spectacle of the rich man searching frantically for loopholes which will enable him to pay less than the share of taxation which the country demands of him.

Whether Mr. Robb will be entirely successful in preventing this legalized tax evasion is very much to be doubted. No problem in the Finance Department is more difficult, and it is not made easier for Canada by the fact that the income tax is a comparatively new fiscal device in this country.

With regard to the tariff in automobiles, controversy has so far centred almost exclusively on the question, what is to be the future of the automobile industry? To give an answer to this question at present would be very premature. Until the case has been studied thoroughly, no man can intelligently form an opinion as to what the future holds.

Much will obviously depend upon the state of trade during the next year. In Britain, when the Labour Government removed the tariff on automobiles, dire ruin was prophesied. Twelve months of buoyant industrial conditions and free spending falsified this prophecy. The same thing might quite possibly happen in Canada if we are to have an accession of prosperity during the next twelve months. Good times may quite possibly neutralize the harm which is anticipated from the reduction of these duties. On the other hand, if trade were to suffer a reverse, the plight of the motor industry would naturally be intensified. While the automobile market in Canada was not brisk, even before the budget was brought down, and had been 'soft' for several months, it is noticeable that upward and downward swings in this industry are generally of comparatively short duration. Eight to twelve months appears to be the rule for a movement in either direction. It must in any case be borne in mind that whatever this enforced reduction in the price of automobiles brings to the motor industry, it cannot but stimulate the demand for other goods.

A business man said jokingly some months ago to a motor manufacturer during a general discussion of business conditions, 'Nothing would benefit those of us who are engaged in other industries so much at present as a club which would put you automotive people out of business.' He was, of course, referring to the difficulties which have been experienced in some other industries as a result of the tremendous diversion of purchasing power towards the buying of automobiles during recent years; and it is quite true that if this enormous purchasing power were spread over the general field of industry many lines of business would feel the stimulation.

One thing is certain at present, and that is a marked and widespread reduction in the price of

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motors. It will release millions of dollars for expenditure on other things, and whatever the fate of the automobile industry, this should make for better times elsewhere.

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	Index of Wholesale Prices in Canada (1)	Volume of Employ- ment in Canada (2)	Price of \$0 Canadian Securi- ties (3)	Cost of Selected Family Budget (4)
Mar. 1926		91.5		156.4
Feb. "	182.0	90.7		157.0
Jan. "	181.3	89.6	127.2	158.0
Dec. 1925	185.2	95.3	122.8	157.0
Apr. 1925	174.7	87.2	107.5	143.9
Mar. "	176.7	87.0	106.8	146.4
Feb. "	180.0	86.1	108.0	149.0
Jan. "	182.3	83.9	105.2	146.8

¹ Michell. Base (=100) refers to the period 1900-1909.

² Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Records obtained from employers. Base (=100) refers to January 17, 1920. Subsequent figures refer to the first of each month.

³ Michell. The following common stock quotations are included in the revised Index: Dominion Steel; Nova Scotia Steel and Coal; Steel Co. of Canada; Canada Car and Foundry; Canadian Locomotive Company; Russell Motor Co.; Canadian Cottons; Canadian Converters; Dominion Textile; Montreal Cottons; Monarch Knitting; Penman's; Wabasso Cottons; British Columbia Fishing & Packing; City Dairy; Dominion Cannery; Shredded Wheat; Tuckett's Tobacco Co.; Canada Bread; F. N. Burt; Provincial Paper; Spanish River; Howard Smith; Laurentide; Lake of the Woods Milling; Ogilvie; Maple Leaf; Canada Cement; Lyall Construction; Dominion Bridge.

⁴ Labour Gazette (Ottawa).

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